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..... of teaching Japanese *ni* passives to learners of Japanese as a
..... foreign language Degree Ph.D.

This thesis examines an effective way of teaching Japanese *ni* passives to learners studying Japanese as a foreign language. Japanese passives have triggered controversies in theoretical linguistics regarding issues such as their syntactic structures, classification and the origin of what is called the 'adversity' meaning. Adopting a cognitive approach, I shall propose that *ni* passives can be taught efficiently and effectively by abandoning the direct/possessor/indirect passive distinction, and instead, explaining all instances of these passives in terms of a single, core notion of 'affectivity' (Kuroda 1979).

The effectiveness of this approach was empirically tested by teaching *ni* passives to two different groups of learners, via explicit grammar explanation designed to encourage the form-meaning and function connections of *ni* passives. The control group (7 learners) were taught multiple types of *ni* passives, and the experimental group (10 learners) were provided with the unified account that all *ni* passives have a meaning of affectedness, whether positive or negative. A series of experiments were conducted, in the form of picture description and other tasks, one week and nine months after the instructional treatment, and with subsequent follow-up.

The results show that the approach proposed in this study was indeed effective. The metalinguistic comments some of the learners made indicate that explicit knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives and the explicit association between the use of *ni* passives with certain (affective) situations seemed to have assisted learning, by motivating the use of *ni* passives. Also, certain intermediate forms that the learners produced in the course of learning will be explained by drawing upon a cognitive approach. The positive effects of the instructional treatment proposed in this study are encouraging for learners who only have limited exposure to the target language.

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**Adversity or affectivity: a longitudinal experimental study
of teaching Japanese *ni* passives to learners of Japanese
as a foreign language**

Akiko Furukawa

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
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of the
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Abstract

This thesis examines an effective way of teaching Japanese *ni* passives to learners studying Japanese as a foreign language. Japanese passives have triggered controversies in theoretical linguistics regarding issues such as their syntactic structures, classification and the origin of what is called the 'adversity' meaning. Adopting a cognitive approach, I shall propose that *ni* passives can be taught efficiently and effectively by abandoning the direct/possessor/indirect passive distinction, and instead, explaining all instances of these passives in terms of a single, core notion of 'affectivity' (Kuroda 1979).

The effectiveness of this approach was empirically tested by teaching *ni* passives to two different groups of learners, via explicit grammar explanation designed to encourage the form-meaning and function connections of *ni* passives. The control group (7 learners) were taught multiple types of *ni* passives, and the experimental group (10 learners) were provided with the unified account that all *ni* passives have a meaning of affectedness, whether positive or negative. A series of experiments were conducted, in the form of picture description and other tasks, one week and nine months after the instructional treatment, and with subsequent follow-up.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Table of Contents	4
List of Tables	8
List of Figures	9
Acknowledgements	10
Abbreviations	12
 Introduction	 13
 Chapter 1: Issues in Second Language Acquisition	 19
1. Input and instruction	19
1-1. The interface between explicit knowledge and implicit knowledge and roles of instruction	19
1-2. Form-focused instruction	22
1-3. Empirical evidence for the impact of form-focused instruction	23
2. Attention, awareness and noticing in second language acquisition	25
3. The nature and roles of explicit knowledge	30
4. Roles of output	32
5. Conclusion	33
 Chapter 2: An Analysis of Japanese Passives	 35
1. Introduction	35
2. Japanese passives	36
2-1. Classification of Japanese passives: direct vs. indirect passives, and the status of possessor passives	36
2-2. The source of the adversity meaning	39
2-3. Problems of the distinction between direct and indirect passives for learners	45
2-4. Roles of context, discourse and knowledge of the world in interpretation of <i>ni</i> passives: a dynamic approach	47
2-5. Affectivity of <i>ni</i> passives	48
2-5-1. Kuroda's (1979) approach	48
2-5-2. Criticisms of the notion of affectivity and its re-definition	52
2-5-3. Traditional approaches vs. Kuroda's approach	53
2-6. Constraints on the interpretation of <i>ni</i> passives: an elaboration on Kuroda's approach	56
3. Motivations for the use of <i>ni</i> passives: conceptualisation of an event and the communicative needs of the speaker	58
3-1. Transitivity and the choice between the active and the <i>ni</i> passive	59
3-2. Conceptualisation of an event and cognitive models for actives and <i>ni</i> passives	60
3-3. Communicative motivation in the use or non-use of <i>ni</i> passives	68
4. Encoding affective stances in Japanese	71
4-1. Affective stance and its manifestations in <i>ni</i> passives, <i>te simau</i> (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives	71

4-2. Devices for an analysis of emotive communication and functions of <i>ni</i> passives, <i>te simau</i> (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives	74
4-3. Learning to encode affect in non-native speakers' utterances	78
5. Summary and conclusion	79
Chapter 3: Acquisition/Learning of Japanese <i>ni</i> Passives	82
1. Introduction	82
2. Previous studies on the acquisition/learning of Japanese passives	83
2-1. Chinese and English learners	83
2-2. Development of viewpoint and voice	86
2-3. Proposals for teaching Japanese passives	91
3. Gass's (1988, 1997) model of second language acquisition	92
3-1. Five components of second language acquisition	92
3-2 The role of selective attention	94
3-3 Application to <i>ni</i> passives	95
4. <i>Ni</i> passive meanings and function	96
4-1. VanPatten's (2004a) principles of input processing	96
4-2. Application to <i>ni</i> passives	102
5. Implications for the present study	106
6. Research questions and predictions/hypotheses	110
Chapter 4: Method	113
1. Subjects	113
1-1. Native speakers	113
1-2. Non-native speakers	113
2. Materials and Procedure	116
2-1. The Pretest	117
2-2. Instruction in passives	118
2-2-1. Grammar class	119
2-2-2. Input session on <i>ni</i> passives, <i>te simau</i> (regrettably/unfortunately/ inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives	120
2-3. Posttest 1	121
2-3-1. The oral production task	121
2-3-2. Follow-up session	122
2-4. Posttest 2	122
2-4-1. The oral production task	123
2-4-2. Follow-up session	124
2-5. Other spoken data from Year 4	124
2-5-1. Prepared speech(es) in Japanese	124
2-5-2. Role-play in Japanese	124
2-5-3. Spontaneous speech	125
2-6. Data from Japanese native speakers	125
3. Analysis	126
3-1. Comparison between native and non-native speakers	126
3-2. The Pretest	127
3-2-1. Previous knowledge of Japanese passives	127
3-2-2. Comparability of the two learner groups	127
3-3. Posttests	129

3-4. Year 4 data	131
Chapter 5: Results	132
1. Introduction	132
2. The use of <i>ni</i> passives by native speakers and the two groups of learners	133
3. Native speakers' use of <i>ni</i> passives	134
4. Results from non-native speakers: effects of instruction	142
4-1. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Pretest	143
4-2. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Posttest 1	144
4-2-1. Appropriate use of <i>ni</i> passives (passive verbs and particles)	144
4-2-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles	146
4-2-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs	150
4-2-4. Use of <i>te simau/tyau</i> (regrettably) and benefactives	153
4-2-5. Summary of Posttest 1	154
5. Results from non-native speakers: retention of the use of <i>ni</i> passives	156
5-1. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Posttest 2	156
5-1-1. Appropriate use of <i>ni</i> passives (passive verbs and particles)	156
5-1-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles	158
5-1-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs	163
5-1-4. Use of <i>te simau/tyau</i> (regrettably) and benefactives	166
5-1-5. Summary of Posttest 2	168
5-2. Results from non-native speakers: Year 4 data	169
Chapter 6: Discussion	172
1. Introduction	172
2. Overall tendencies observed in the two groups in Posttest 1 and Posttest 2	172
2-1. Levels of success of the two groups of learners	172
2-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles	175
2-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs	177
2-4. Use of <i>te simau/tyau</i> (regrettably) instead of <i>ni</i> passives	184
3. Patterns of change from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2, and retention of use of <i>ni</i> passives in Year 4	186
4. Factors affecting learning of <i>ni</i> passives	198
4-1. Instruction	198
4-2. Awareness at the level of understanding and metalinguistic knowledge	199
4-3. Knowledge of L1 and/or L2	201
4-4. Motivation (general ability to encode feelings)	203
4-5. Exposure	204
5. The types and roles of metalinguistic knowledge in the production of <i>ni</i> passives	206
6. Processes of learning to produce <i>ni</i> passives	216
6-1. Direct Passives	217
6-2. Possessor Passives	229
7. Summary and conclusions	246
Chapter 7: Conclusion	255
1. The findings of this study and implications for teaching	255
2. Limitations and further studies	260
3. Conclusion	264

References	265
Appendix A: Sample of Pictures Used in the Experiments	276
Appendix B: Abbreviations Used in the Transcripts	278
Appendix C: Codes for Subjects	280
Appendix D: Sample of Transcripts	281
Appendix E: Outline of Grammar Lesson with a Sample of Sentences	302
Appendix F: Outline of Input Session	305
Appendix G: Pretest Scores	309

List of Tables

Chapter 2

Table 1. Functions of passives, <i>te simau</i> and benefactives in terms of Caffi and Janney's (1994) devices for an analysis of emotive communication	76
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Chapter 4

Table 1. NNS subject details	114
Table 2. The Pretest: details of the oral production task items	118
Table 3. Posttest 1: details of the oral production task items	122
Table 4. Posttest 2: details of the oral production task items	123
Table 5. Timetable of the tasks	126

Chapter 5

Table 1. Use of <i>ni</i> passives with the first person subject by the two learner groups and NSs	133
Table 2. Posttests 1 and 2: responses to each verb from the NSs (10 subjects)	135
Table 3. Pretest: average scores for each item, Control and Experimental groups	144
Table 4-1. Posttest 1: appropriate <i>ni</i> passive responses, Control and Experimental groups	145
Table 4-2. Posttest 1: passive verb responses, Control and Experimental groups	147
Table 4-3. Posttest 1: passive particles, Control and Experimental groups	150
Table 4-4. Posttest 1: <i>te simau/tyau</i> and benefactives, Control and Experimental groups	153
Table 5-1. Posttest 2: appropriate <i>ni</i> passive responses, Control and Experimental groups	157
Table 5-2. Posttest 2: passive verb responses, Control and Experimental groups	159
Table 5-3. Posttest 2: passive particles, Control and Experimental groups	163
Table 5-4. Posttest 2: <i>te simau/tyau</i> and benefactives, Control and Experimental groups	166
Table 6. NNS responses: retention of the use of <i>ni</i> passives in Year 4	170

Chapter 6

Table 1. Each learner's use of forms: Control group	187
Table 2. Each learner's use of forms: Experimental group	188, 189
Table 3. Categories of learners	190

List of Figures

Chapter 2

Figure 1. The process of interpreting a <i>ni</i> passive utterance	56
Figure 2. Direct selection of the <i>ni</i> passive by NSs	58
Figure 3. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with <i>sikaru</i>)	62
Figure 4. Cognitive model of the DP (with <i>sikarareru</i>)	63
Figure 5. Cognitive model of the PP (with <i>asi-o humareru</i>)	65
Figure 6. Cognitive model of the Vi passive (with <i>nakareru</i>)	67

Chapter 4

Figure 1. Summary of procedures	117
---------------------------------	-----

Chapter 6

Figure 1. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with <i>sikaru</i>)	218
Figure 2. Cognitive model of the DP (with <i>sikarareru</i>)	219
Figure 3. The process of producing * <i>sensei-wa watasi-ni sikar-are-masi-ta</i> .	224
Figure 4. (Figure 5 of Chapter 2) Cognitive model of the PP (with <i>asi-o humareru</i>)	230
Figure 5. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with <i>humu</i>)	230
Figure 6. Cognitive model of the DP (with <i>asi-ga humareru</i>)	231
Figure 7. The process of producing * <i>Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni humi-masi-ta/hum-are-masi-ta</i> .	238
Figure 8. Typical connections among the basic role archetypes	241
Figure 9. Cognitive model of the PP (with <i>ude-o orareru</i>)	241
Figure 10. Cognitive model of the utterance * <i>Onna-no hito-wa watasi-ni te-o [or -de] humi-masi-ta</i> .	242
Figure 11. Cognitive model of the utterance * <i>Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni watasi-no asi-o hum-are-masi-ta</i> .	243

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Abbreviations

A: Active
Acc: Accusative
Adv: Adverb
Ag: Agent
Ben: Benefactive
C: Conceptualiser
Caus: Causative
Cop: Copula
D: Dominion
Dat: Dative
DP: Direct passive
FFI: Form-focused instruction
FP: Final particle
Gen: Genitive
Ger: Gerundive
IP: Indirect passive
JFL: Japanese as a foreign language
JSL: Japanese as a second language
L1: First language
L2: Second language
lm: landmark
Neg: Negative
Nml: Nominaliser
NNS: Non-native speaker
Nom: Nominative
NS: Native speaker
O: Object
OPI: Oral Proficiency Interview
P: Patient
Pass: Passive
Past: Past tense
Perf: Perfective
Poss: Possessor
PP: Possessor passive
Prog: Progressive
R: Reference point
S: Subject
SLA: Second language acquisition
T: Target
TL: Target language
Top: Topic
tr: trajector
V: Verb
Vi: Intransitive verb
Vi passive: Passive with an intransitive verb
Vt: Transitive verb

Introduction

Many learners of Japanese as a second language (JSL) or foreign language (JFL) are observed to have problems learning Japanese *ni* passives (passives with the agent marked by *ni* (by)). They often use the active

- (1) ?*Doroboo-ga watasi-no sai-hu-o nusun-da*
thief-Nom my wallet-Acc steal-Past
(A thief stole my purse)

when native speakers (NSs) show a preference for the (*ni*) passive

- (2) *Doroboo-ni sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta*
thief-by purse-Acc steal-Pass-Past
(I had my purse stolen by a thief and was negatively affected by this).

With regard to English NSs, Mizutani (1985, pp. 20-24) attributes this phenomenon to their preference for fact-oriented descriptions, rather than standpoint-oriented descriptions preferred by Japanese NSs, as a result of transfer from their first language (L1).

The problem with using *ni* passives can be persistent and many learners continue to use actives even after spending almost a year in Japan on the Period Abroad Programme¹. A similar observation has been made by Tanaka (1996, 1999b, 2000), who concludes that possessor passives (PPs) like Example (2) (see Chapter 2, Section 2-1) are difficult to acquire even for learners who stayed in Japan for one year. Indeed, some of my students have commented that they were confused about Japanese passives and an intermediate learner has even said 'I'm not good enough for passives'. Their confusion is not surprising given that passives are complex constructions that involve manipulation of the verbal form, the choice of the grammatical subject and the use of particles, as well as semantic and pragmatic considerations, which I shall discuss in detail later on in Chapter 2.

The difficulty in learning *ni* passives is compounded by other factors such as

¹ Although 'Year Abroad' or 'Study Abroad' may be a more commonly used name of the programme, I shall use the terms 'Period Abroad' because this was the module title for the Japanese component of this programme at the University of Reading. I shall also call the European (French, German and Italian) component the 'Period Abroad', to be consistent.

frequency and the existence of multiple-types of *ni* passives in Japanese introduced in textbooks. After all, actives appear much more frequently in input than passives, and notably, learners will have normally been almost exclusively exposed to actives in the classroom, until passives are finally introduced². It is not surprising if they find the sudden switch from the active to the passive difficult. Also, different types of *ni* passives that are introduced in textbooks (see Chapter 2, Section 2-1) may become an extra burden to learners, compared to other more straightforward forms that only involve a single rule such as the distinction between the non-past vs. past forms of the polite ending, *masu* and *masita*.

Notably, both the active (1) and the *ni* passive (2) above are syntactically correct but the active is pragmatically deviant, because it does not encode the information that the speaker was emotionally affected (see Chapter 2, Section 2-5) by the annoying incident of theft, and thus can give an impression that s/he is being too objective about this highly personal incident. Since the active utterance is syntactically well-formed and communicates what has happened to the hearer, it is possible that learners do not receive corrective feedback from their interlocutors or even from the teacher. If this happens for a prolonged period of time, they may continue to avoid passives and fossilise at the stage of using actives in place of *ni* passives. Given that the active (1) is grammatically correct, they may not feel motivated to use *ni* passives (2), which is structurally more complex. The comment made by the intermediate learner mentioned above that s/he was 'not good enough for passives' may reflect such lack of motivation. S/he knows that Japanese has passives, but as they are too difficult, and there is no immediate need to use them, s/he chose to avoid these forms altogether. Thus, unless learners have a good reason to use or even to learn *ni* passives, they may not feel the necessity to do so. One such reason may be one's communicative needs (R. Ellis 1997, p. 66, Mcnamara 1973) that can be achieved by the use of *ni* passives, and not by actives, or the needs to encode one's feelings and affective stance in one's utterances. If learners know the meanings *ni* passives can communicate that actives cannot, they are more likely to feel the necessity to use the former.

The observations made above regarding the difficulty of learning *ni* passives and

² For instance, passives are not introduced until Chapter 37 in *Minna no Nihongo syokyuu II: honsatu* and *Minna no Nihongo syokyuu II: honyaku, bunpoo kaisetu Eigo-ban (Translation & grammatical notes)*.

the roles they play in communication strongly suggest the need for assisting learners in learning to produce *ni* passives appropriately. In classroom language learning situations, on which the present study focuses, one possible solution is to manipulate input that learners receive in such a way as to trigger the acquisition processes.

The present study investigates what aspects of *ni* passives might be brought to learners' attention in order to foster learning. The traditional approach of teaching multiple types of *ni* passives, with different meanings attached to different types, will be examined critically, and an approach in which all instances of *ni* passives are taught as encoding a more general and semantically neutral notion of 'affectivity' will be proposed, on the basis of the argument put forward by Kuroda (1979) (see Chapter 2, Section 2-5). Since this notion does not specify its meaning of affectedness as positive or negative (and is thus semantically neutral in this sense), it has wider applicability to cover a wide range of situations for which the use of *ni* passives is deemed to be appropriate.

The claim regarding the effectiveness of the proposed approach was tested empirically by comparing two different ways of teaching *ni* passives, reflecting the above-mentioned two approaches. It is further claimed that the explicit knowledge regarding *ni* passives described above is likely to assist learners to retain the use of these forms long-term. If these claims are proven to be correct empirically, they will have significant implications for teaching *ni* passives to JFL learners, because both learning (see above) and retention (Tanaka 1996) have been reported to be difficult for these learners.

It should be made clear from the outset that the purpose of this study is not to examine whether *ni* passives can best be taught implicitly or explicitly, or by means of focus on meaning, focus on form or focus on forms (Long 1991, 1996, 2000; see Chapter 1, Section 1-3). This is because the semantic characterisation of Japanese *ni* passives is not free from controversy, and it is thus unclear on what meanings and functions of these forms learners' attention should be focused, in order to foster learning. Without being clear about this, it is not productive to examine how to focus learners' attention to the meaning(s)/forms, or whether they can be taught implicitly or explicitly. Therefore what I attempt to do is to find out *what* aspects of *ni* passives should be focused on as the first step of finding an effective way of teaching these constructions. In order to identify the characteristics of *ni* passives that can be

effectively utilised in teaching, it would first be necessary to test different approaches that focus on different meanings and functions of *ni* passives in an empirical study. Such differentiation of teaching approach is only possible (if not guaranteed, since learners may create their own hypotheses about the meanings and functions of *ni* passives) if explicit knowledge is provided in instructional treatment. This is why I adopted explicit instruction, in which the meanings and functions of *ni* passives are explained to the two groups of learners.

For those learners for whom classroom instruction is almost the only opportunity for engaging in interaction in the target language (TL), just like the learners in this study, making the best use of this limited amount of time is the utmost priority. As Doughty & Williams (1998b) point out, 'our interest is not limited to what is merely possible, but extends to a determination of what would comprise the most effective and efficient instructional plan given the normal constraints of acquiring a second language in the classroom' (p. 198). The present study attempts to throw some light on this issue.

The true value of this study lies in the use of spoken data and its longitudinal nature. Doughty (2004) urges caution in commenting on the claimed advantage of explicit instruction over implicit instruction (see e.g., Norris & Ortega 2000), and maintains 'when the outcome of very short-term, explicitly focused instruction is measured on language manipulation tasks, it has proven effective. Like any other type of memorized knowledge, L2 [second language] knowledge learned in this way would be expected quickly to be forgotten' (Doughty 2004, pp. 198-199). She also points out that delayed posttests are not conducted in many studies, and more research is needed in this area. The present study aims to provide some evidence of the role of explicit instruction regarding Japanese *ni* passives, and attempts to answer some of the questions that remain unanswered in the field of second language acquisition (SLA).

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 1 focuses on the general issues of instructed SLA, with an emphasis on explicit instruction, on which the approach of the present study is based. The issues of attention, awareness and noticing, which have caused controversy in SLA research will be discussed, and the nature and roles of explicit knowledge explained. After this, the discussion of the issues related to input will be supplemented by examination of the functions of output. The purpose

of this chapter is to provide a theoretical background to the study of instructed SLA.

Chapter 2 examines some of the issues surrounding analysis of Japanese *ni* passives. This includes classification, their semantic characteristics and pragmatic constraints on the interpretation of these passives. I shall introduce the treatment of all instances of *ni* passives in terms of the single, core notion of 'affectivity', on the basis of Kuroda (1979), which I argue to be useful in teaching *ni* passives. After this, I shall examine *ni* passives in terms of cognitive conceptualisation of an event and their communicative function. More specifically, *ni* passives are regarded as descriptions of an event 'as a whole' that has happened to and influenced the grammatical subject (see Oka 2002, Onoe 1998). Also, *ni* passives have the function of presenting an event subjectively as something that has happened to and influenced the grammatical subject. This function also motivates the use of these forms. In the last part of this chapter, I shall relate *ni* passives with two other constructions that are used to encode one's feelings and affective stance, the *te simau* construction that encodes a sense of regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality), and benefactives. The discussion in this section will provide a theoretical basis for the claim made later that it is general ability to encode one's feelings and affective stance in one's utterances that is important in learning to use *ni* passives effectively in communicative situations.

Chapter 3 brings together the points made in Chapters 1 and 2, and examines the issue of the acquisition/learning of Japanese passives. Following the review of literature on this topic, I shall introduce Gass's (1988, 1997) model of SLA. Noting the crucial role of noticed (or 'apperceived' in Gass's term) input, I shall then draw upon VanPatten's (2004a) input processing model, to explain what difficulty learners are initially likely to experience in the process of learning *ni* passives, and how the initial tendencies are likely to change with improved proficiency. Finally, the type of instruction as well as the approach adopted in the empirical part of this study will be explained.

In the light of the description of Japanese *ni* passives in Chapter 2 and the model presented in Chapter 3, I shall propose a possible effective way of teaching *ni* passives to JFL learners in Chapter 4, and the method of instruction and experiments and other data collection will be explained. This is followed by the presentation of the results obtained from the experiments, as well as other relevant data in Chapter 5.

These results will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, in which the factors affecting learning as well as possible processes of learning to produce *ni* passives will be discussed. I shall include the meanings and functions of all types of *ni* passives, that is, direct passives (DPs), possessor passives (PPs) and passives with an intransitive verb (Vi passives) (see Chapter 2, Section 2-1) in the theoretical argument regarding *ni* passives. However, the empirical part of the present study will focus on DPs and PPs, reflecting Tanaka's (e.g., 1999a, 2004) findings that NSs do not necessarily use Vi passives consistently, which were also true of the Vi passive in my experiment. Finally in Chapter 7, I shall conclude by suggesting implications for teaching and evaluating the advantages and the limitations of the present study.

Chapter 1: Issues in Second Language Acquisition

This chapter deals with some of the theoretical issues of second language acquisition (SLA) that are relevant to the present study. Specifically, I discuss the roles of input and instruction, attention, awareness and noticing (e.g., Schmidt 1990), explicit knowledge, and output. After surveying these SLA issues in this chapter, I shall provide an overview of the target language structure of this study, *ni* passives, in Chapter 2. This will be followed by a discussion of the issues of learning these forms by non-native speakers (NNSs) in Chapter 3, in which I shall relate a general model of SLA to the processing of *ni* passives. These theoretical considerations will be tested empirically in the rest of the thesis.

1. Input and instruction

1-1. The interface between explicit knowledge and implicit knowledge and roles of instruction

In the context of foreign language learning, instruction serves an important role of providing learners with input that triggers the processes of learning. Input is fundamental in language learning (e.g., Chaudron 1985, Færch & Kasper 1986, Gass & Madden 1985, Krashen 1981, 1982, 1985, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, VanPatten e.g., 1993, 1994, 1996, 2004a, 2007). However, the role of instruction has been characterised differently by different theorists.

Krashen (e.g., 1981, 1982, 1985) makes a distinction between 'acquisition' and 'learning'. This distinction reflects how the second language grammar is internalised to the learner's linguistic system and how it is utilised. L2 'acquisition' is a process similar to child first language acquisition; it occurs naturally through exposure to meaningful interaction. It is a subconscious, implicit and informal process that is also referred to in common parlance as 'picking up the language'. The acquired competence is also subconscious and a learner is not aware of the grammatical rules but rather has a feel for the correctness of given language forms. There is a fixed (natural) sequence and order of 'acquisition' for certain forms and they are 'acquired' through a predicable process regardless of the learner's L1 and the

availability of instruction¹. It is the 'acquired' system that is used in producing language. By contrast, 'learning' involves explicit, conscious knowledge of an L2 or 'knowing about' a language. It is about 'knowing the rules, being aware of them, and being able to talk about them' (Krashen 1982, p. 10). Unlike 'acquisition', 'learning' takes place in varied order rather than in a predictable, natural order. The 'learned' system has operational limitations: it is used only for monitoring the accuracy of the language in production and people have varied propensity to use the 'learned' system, or the Monitor. Monitoring is only possible when the learner's attention is focused on the linguistic form and when s/he knows the rules.

Unlike 'learning', 'acquisition' cannot take place by means of explicit instruction that provides grammatical rules and generalization because 'acquisition' can only occur naturally as a result of what Krashen (1981, 1982, 1985) called 'comprehensible input', which is input that contains structures that are a little beyond the current level of learners' interlanguage (Selinker 1972)² (represented as 'i + 1'). The role that the language classroom can play is therefore simply to provide learners with naturalistic 'comprehensible input' approximating to natural exposure to the TL. Explicit instruction can only lead to metalinguistic knowledge, which is conscious and verbalisable, and not to implicit competence responsible for spontaneous language use. Neurolinguistic research backs up this contention (e.g., Paradis 1994) by demonstrating that there are neurofunctional and anatomic differences between the memory systems that subserve the formal learning of a L2 (declarative memory) and acquisition of L1 or informal L2 acquisition (procedural memory). Thus, for instance, in amnesia explicit memory is impaired whilst implicit memory remains intact; in aphasia, on the other hand, implicit memory for language (or its automatic use) is impaired whilst explicit knowledge is preserved.

Both Krashen (e.g., 1982) and Paradis (1994) maintain that 'acquired' implicit knowledge (competence) and 'learned' explicit knowledge are separate from each other and the latter cannot be converted into the former. This position is referred to as a 'noninterface' position.

However, Krashen's theory, including his hypotheses regarding the acquisition vs. learning distinction, has received considerable criticism (see e.g., Gregg 1984,

¹ This observation is primarily based on studies of the acquisition of English morphemes.

² Interlanguage is the language produced by a NNS that contains elements from the L1, the TL and elements that do not originate in either (Gass & Selinker 2008, p. 14).

McLaughlin 1978). Gass & Selinker (2001, pp. 202-203) summarised the problems as follows. First, although learners may internalise information in different ways, having two independent linguistic systems is not an efficient way for the brain to handle different kinds of information. Secondly, according to Krashen, it is the acquired and not the learned system that initiates production. This means that learners without an acquired system (such as those who were taught in a formal setting in their L1 in a country where they have little or no contact with the TL in natural settings) should not be able to initiate utterance production. This is clearly not the case and some of these learners do develop fluent, unconscious speech³. Thus, it is counterfactual that learned knowledge cannot become part of the acquired system. Thirdly, Krashen provided no evidence or clear criteria for specifying the two separate systems.

An alternative way of explaining the process of SLA is to treat implicit and explicit knowledge as forming a continuum, or to consider that there is an interface between them. Drawing on Anderson's (e.g., 1982, 1995 cited in DeKeyser 1998, pp. 48-49) skill acquisition theory, DeKeyser (1998) takes the position that learners acquire linguistic forms by automatising explicit or declarative knowledge through practice. Thus, a language feature taught explicitly can be practiced with a focus on the relevant form to establish declarative knowledge, and this can be followed by gradually less focused communicative exercises to foster proceduralisation (until no errors are made without time pressure) and automatisation (for faster and more effortless reaction). This is referred to as a 'strong interface' position (see also McLaughlin 1978, McLaughlin, Rossman & McLeod 1983, Sharwood Smith 1981). DeKeyser (2003) states that large amounts of communicative use of the language and complete automatisation of rules can lead to loss of awareness of the rules. The resulting procedural knowledge is 'functionally equivalent to implicitly acquired knowledge' and 'knowledge without awareness' (p. 329).

Other theorists take up versions of the 'weak interface' position. In these views, it is possible for explicit knowledge to become implicit through practice only if the learner is developmentally ready for the acquisition of the linguistic form in question (R. Ellis 1993), or the contribution of explicit knowledge is indirect in that it encourages learners to notice certain elements in the input by making them salient,

³ As we shall see later, this was also confirmed by the present study.

and allows them to notice the gap between the target forms and their grammars. Other theorists maintain that explicit knowledge can be used in production and the output serves as 'auto-input' (learners' own output serving as input for them - Schmidt & Frota 1986, Sharwood Smith 1981) to the mechanisms of implicit learning. In these views, instruction is regarded as playing an important role in SLA. Learners' attention can be focused in various ways in instructional treatment. In this connection, I now turn to the role of form-focused instruction.

1-2. Form-focused instruction

R. Ellis (2001) defined 'form-focused instruction' as 'any planned or incidental instructional activity that is intended to induce language learners to pay attention to linguistic form' (pp. 1-2). This includes phonological, lexical, grammatical and 'pragmalinguistic' aspects of language. Ellis uses the term 'form-focused instruction' to include traditional approaches to teaching forms based on structural syllabi, as well as for more communicative approaches, in which attention to form arises from activities that are primarily focused on meaning.

Form-focused instruction includes various pedagogical interventions ranging from explicit to implicit. For instance, metalinguistic descriptions and traditional grammar explanation and translation are located at the explicit end of the continuum, and 'input flooding' (provision of many exemplars of the target features) is found towards the implicit end. 'Input enhancement' (including highlighting features of language textually such as by underlining, italicising and using bold fonts) (Sharwood Smith 1991, 1993) lies between these two and closer to the implicit end.

A number of factors determine whether or not form-focused instruction is effective. R. Ellis (2001, p. 12), for instance, includes among such factors the learners' developmental stage, the target structure, the instructional context and the instructional materials. Despite different findings obtained from different studies, the pervasive view, according to Ellis, is that 'FFI [form-focused instruction], especially of the more explicit kind, is effective in promoting language learning' (p. 12). However, form-focused instruction cannot change the natural processes of acquisition (e.g., R. Ellis 1984, Pica 1983, Pienemann 1984). It is also accepted that form-focused instruction promotes the rate of learning and the ultimate level of achievement (see e.g., Long 1988, 2000).

Let us now examine in more detail the effectiveness of different types of form-focused instruction, following the detailed study by Norris & Ortega (2000).

1-3. Empirical evidence for the impact of form-focused instruction

Norris & Ortega (2000) reviewed forty-nine studies that include sufficient statistical information in their meta-analysis of the effects of instruction. Their general findings were that form-focused L2 instruction results in large gains and thus is effective. The effectiveness of form-focused instruction was observed in both pretest-to-posttest change within experimental groups and the differences between treatment and control groups in their performance in posttests, even when the control group had been exposed to and interacted with experimental materials that contained the target form.

The three types of pedagogical procedures examined for their effectiveness were 'focus-on-form', 'focus-on-forms'⁴ and 'focus-on-meaning'. The classification was based on the following strategies or conditions:

Focus-on-form (following Doughty & Williams (1998a, 1998b))

- (a) designing tasks to promote learner engagement with meaning prior to form;
- (b) seeking to attain and document task essentialness or naturalness of the L2 forms;
- (c) attempting to ensure that instruction was unobtrusive;
- (d) documenting learner mental processes ("noticing").

Also with many studies

- (e) selecting target form(s) by analysis of learners' needs; or
- (f) considering interlanguage constraints when choosing the targets of instruction and when interpreting the outcomes of instruction.

(Norris & Ortega 2000, p. 438)

Focus-on forms

- (a) none of the four strategies (a)-(d) above could be identified; and
- (b) learner attention was nevertheless focused in some way on the particular structure targeted for learning.

(p. 438)

Focus-on-meaning

'any experimental treatment or condition which involved exposure to the L2 targets or experience with the L2 tasks, but which did not involve an attempt at effecting shifts in learner attention to L2 target structures.'

(p. 439)

⁴ Long's (1996) definition of focus-on-forms is 'a predominant, often exclusive, orientation to a series of isolated linguistic forms presented one after the other, as in a structural syllabus, with meaning and communication relegated to the sidelines' (p. 429). See also Long (1991, 2000) and Long & Robinson (1998).

Norris & Ortega also examined the effect of implicit vs. explicit instruction, and further divided the latter into deductive and inductive. On the basis of DeKeyser's (1995) definitions, instruction is categorised as 'explicit deductive and metalinguistic' if it contained explicit rule explanation and as 'explicit inductive' if learners were directly instructed to attend to particular forms and to try to form metalinguistic generalisations. Instruction is categorised as 'implicit' if neither explicit rule presentation nor instructions to attend to particular forms were given to learners. Furthermore, Norris & Ortega (2000) referred to the group that only participated in pretest and posttest as 'no treatment', if such a group was used in the study.

With regard to the effectiveness of these instructional methods, both focus-on-form and focus-on-forms were found to be equally effective. As for the differences between explicit and implicit treatments, treatments that involved an explicit focus on the rule-governed nature of L2 structures were found to be more effective than treatments without such a focus.

Although there are some methodological problems that need to be born in mind, such as publication bias (caused by sampling published work only), measurement tests that tended to favour explicit treatment, and the lack of replication studies as well as administration of delayed posttest, Norris & Ortega proposed the following order of effectiveness in relation to the two sets of variables, focus and explicitness of instruction:

Explicit focus on form > explicit focus on forms > implicit focus on form > implicit focus on forms (p. 465) with only a slight difference between focus on form and focus on forms.

However, Sheen (2005, p. 286) criticises Norris & Ortega (2000) for their bias in favour of a 'focus on form'. First, they do not follow Long's (1991, 2000) exact criteria for the distinction between a 'focus on form' and a 'focus on forms', and specified as a 'focus on form' a study such as VanPatten & Sanz (1995) that 'entails an explanation of discrete items of grammar unconnected to a need created by communicative activity, thus disqualifying it as "focus on form" in Long's terms' (Sheen 2005, p. 286). Secondly, Norris & Ortega (2000) excluded all the comparative studies conducted before 1980, and omitted other studies after this date, which found that 'focus on forms' was the most effective instructional option

(Kupferberg & Olshtain 1996, Palmer 1992, Sheen 1996). Sheen asserts that if Norris & Ortega (2000) had used Long's (1991, 2000) criteria, and included all relevant studies, their finding would have favoured a 'focus on forms'.

Turning to the issue of durability of instruction, Norris & Ortega (2000) conclude that the effectiveness of instruction seems to be durable although it gradually deteriorates, or control/comparison groups gradually caught up. However, they caution that only a small number of studies included delayed posttests.

The provision of metalinguistic explanation in the instructional treatment needs to be looked at more closely. In order to do this, I shall now examine the roles of attention, awareness and noticing in language learning.

2. Attention, awareness and noticing in second language acquisition

In cognitive psychology, cognitive science and SLA, it is generally accepted that attention is a necessary condition for learning to take place (e.g., Robinson 1995b, Schmidt 2001, Shiffrin & Schneider 1977, Tomlin & Villa 1994). However, it is controversial whether or not attention should be seen as conscious or sub-conscious, and whether (conscious) awareness is also necessary for learning. Awareness is 'a particular state of mind in which an individual has undergone a specific subjective experience of some cognitive content or external stimulus' (Tomlin & Villa 1994, p. 193), and some theorists (Curran & Keele 1993, Nissen & Bullemer 1987, Reber e.g., 1976) have argued that it is dissociated from learning, whilst others (e.g., Robinson 1995b, Schmidt 1990, 1995, 2001) contend that attention with some low level of awareness is necessary for converting input to intake, which, according to Gass & Selinker (2008) is '[t]hat part of the language input that is internalized by the learner' (p. 518). In this section, I shall introduce Schmidt's (1990) claim that conscious noticing within focal attention is necessary for learning, or 'intake is that part of the input that the learner notices' (p. 139)⁵.

Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1994a, 1995, 2001) has formulated the Noticing Hypothesis, which predicts that conscious perception or 'detection within focal attention accompanied by awareness' (Schmidt 2001, p. 18) is necessary for learning. According to Schmidt, 'SLA is largely driven by what learners pay attention to and notice in target language input and what they understand the significance of noticed

⁵ See Chapter 3, Section 3-1 for a different definition of intake.

input to be' (pp. 3-4). Thus, learners must consciously 'notice' the form of input for the conversion of input into intake and therefore for subsequent development of L2. 'Noticing' is 'the level at which stimuli are subjectively experienced' (Schmidt 1990, p. 132) and it refers to private experience, for which verbal report may be available if gathered concurrently or immediately after the experience, and if such an experience is describable (using metalanguage). However, lack of such report does not preclude the possibility of noticing having occurred, as Schmidt states.

Schmidt's claim regarding the important role of noticing is based on the observations made by Schmidt & Frota (1986) regarding Schmidt's own acquisition of Brazilian Portuguese over five months. He kept a journal and had his conversations with NSs tape-recorded. An analysis of these data showed a close connection between what he had noticed about the TL and the emergence of linguistic forms in his production.

Tomlin & Villa (1994) have pointed out that diary studies such as the above were problematic because the observations in the diary may not show how attention or noticing operated during relatively brief spans of time when the learner processed L2 input. They proposed a finer-grained analysis of attention following Posner & Petersen (1990 cited in Tomlin & Villa 1994, pp. 190-193) and specified three isolatable yet interrelated components of attention: 'alertness', 'orientation' and 'detection'. Alertness is defined as 'an overall, general readiness to deal with incoming stimuli or data' (Tomlin & Villa 1994, p. 190). An increase in alertness generally increases the rate of selection of information for further processing, although this may sometimes decrease accuracy. Orientation is the directing of attentional resources to 'some type or class of sensory information at the exclusion of others' (p. 191). In general, this process facilitates detection but its effect can be positive if the information that occurs is expected, or negative if it is not. Detection is 'the cognitive registration of sensory stimuli' and is 'the process that selects, or engages, a particular and specific bit of information' (p. 192). Detected information is available for further processing, such as hypothesis formation and testing. Tomlin & Villa argue that detection is the level at which learning must operate. The occurrence of detection may be increased by orientation and/or alertness but neither is required.

Tomlin & Villa point out that Schmidt's noticing, which is associated with

subjective experience and the reportability of one's experience, seems crucially to include awareness, and in particular, awareness with attention as central to noticing. They argue that 'conscious awareness, that is, noticing, may not be as critical a factor for SLA as other processes, specifically *detection* and *orientation*, attentional processes that can be dissociated from awareness' (p. 185, emphasis in the original). They recast Schmidt's (1990) noticing as 'detection within selective attention' (Tomlin & Villa 1994, p. 199). Robinson (1995b), on the other hand, re-defines Schmidt's 'noticing' as 'detection plus rehearsal in short-term memory, prior to encoding in long-term memory' (p. 296). This reflects a view that 'activation in short-term memory must exceed a certain threshold before it becomes part of awareness (Cowan, 1988, p. 165; Shiffrin, 1993, p. 195)' (Robinson 1995b, p. 297). Therefore, noticing is 'what is both detected and then further activated following the allocation of attentional resources from a central executive' (p. 297). Rehearsal after detection occurs as a result of the allocation of attentional resources to fulfil task demands (Baddeley 1986, p. 99). In response to Tomlin & Villa's (1994) proposal for a finer analysis of attention, Schmidt (2001) distinguishes 'detection', which occurs independently of awareness (registration), from conscious perception or 'noticing', which is 'detection within focal attention accompanied by awareness' (p. 18).

Thus, Tomlin & Villa's position is that awareness is not required by the three components of attention, either for, or as the result of, processing. Although they acknowledge a close connection between detection and awareness, they argue that the former does not require the latter since cognitive detection of information has been observed even when the individual has no awareness of its occurrence, as in semantic priming experiments (e.g. Marcel 1983). However, as Schmidt (1995) points out, such studies do not address the issue of learning, since the subjects already knew the items used in the experiments. What they show is 'cognitive activation (for about a tenth of a second) of previously well-learned information present in long-term memory' (Schmidt 2001, p. 26) and a majority of these studies do not involve learning of new information. This observation has led Schmidt to propose a strong version of the Noticing Hypothesis according to which subliminal perception is possible, but subliminal learning is not. The applicability of work from cognitive psychology, such as artificial grammar learning, to SLA has also been

questioned by DeKeyser (1994, 1995, 2003) and VanPatten (1994, 2002), for instance, since it does not address issues directly related to SLA. VanPatten (1994, p. 29; see also VanPatten 2002, p. 826) states that many experiments conducted within studies on cognitive psychology used visual stimuli (such as faces, numbers, colours and shapes) rather than languages. Where artificial linguistic systems were the object of study, the relevance to real language learning can still be questioned because these systems lack rules of movement, surface features (such as word classes, morphological inflections etc.), and most crucially they are devoid of referential or social meaning. DeKeyser (1995) and Schmidt (1994b) also make a similar point. Furthermore, some theorists (e.g., DeKeyser 2003, Robinson 1995a, 1995b, Schmidt 1995) maintain that the effects of learning without awareness, if this is possible at all, is limited to the point of being negligible. Although Tomlin & Villa (1994) deny the **necessity** of awareness for any of the components of attention, they also acknowledge the possible positive effects of awareness in the process of detection 'by further enhancing a learner's alert state or by specifically orienting the learner to the grammatical alternation' (p. 197). They state that this might be accompanied by explicit instruction, although orientation does not lead to detection directly.

It is important to note that 'noticing' is distinct from 'metalinguistic awareness'. Schmidt (e.g., 1990, 1995) distinguishes between 'awareness at the level of noticing', which means 'conscious registration of the occurrence of some event', and 'awareness at the level of understanding', which is 'recognition of a general principle, rule or pattern' (Schmidt 1995, p. 29). Schmidt (2001) states that what is attended to and noticed are 'elements of the surface structure of utterances in the input - instances of language, rather than any abstract rules or principles of which such instances may be exemplars' (p. 5). Thus, a higher level of awareness than noticing or metalinguistic awareness is not regarded as necessary for learning, although it may be facilitative.

Whilst the strong version of the Noticing Hypotheses is controversial, the major role that selective attention plays in learning is widely accepted in SLA studies (e.g., Ellis 1993, Gass 1997, Gass & Selinker 2001, 2008, Leow 1997, 2001, Long 1996, Robinson 1995a, 1995b, Rosa & Leow 2004, Rosa & O'Neill 1999, Schmidt e.g., 1990, 1995, 2001, Tomlin & Villa 1994). Critiques of the Noticing Hypothesis

include Truscott (1998), who reformulates it to the narrower claim that it is the acquisition of metalinguistic knowledge rather than development of competence that is related to (conscious) noticing (p. 124). Truscott asserts that those empirical studies on form-focused instruction that are used to support the Noticing Hypothesis often adopt tests of metalinguistic knowledge (e.g., Carroll et al 1992, Carroll & Swain 1993, Robinson 1996, Scott 1989, 1990), and fail to show effects of form-focused instruction in spontaneous use of the language (e.g., R. Ellis 1987, Frantzen 1995, Green & Hecht 1992, Kadia 1988, Terrell et al 1987). Also, the lack of long-term effects of form-focused instruction (Harley 1989, Lightbown et al 1980, White 1991) poses a challenge to its usefulness.

Schachter (1998) is also sceptical of the effects of explicit instruction and focused attention, and points out the need to consider the length of instructional treatment in relation to long-term memory storage, as well as longer study periods, to gain insight into the extent to which the target structures are incorporated into learners' grammars.

Despite the controversy over the necessity of awareness in language learning, Schmidt's (1994a, 2001) observation that more attention results in more learning (Baars 1988 cited in Schmidt 2001, p. 30) seems plausible and important for pedagogical purposes. Also the practical necessity of deliberate focused attention to the aspects of L2 that are less salient or communicatively redundant (e.g., the past tense marker when it is accompanied by an adverbial denoting a time in the past) is another important consideration and '[s]ince task demands are an equally important determinant of attentional focus, instructional practices that focus learners' attention on things that they are less likely to attend to or notice on their own also have a solid justification' (Schmidt 2001, p. 29). Also, evidence of positive effects of awareness has been reported in a number of studies. Of particular relevance to the present study, which involves provision of metalinguistic knowledge regarding the meanings and functions of *ni* passives, are studies that tested the role of higher level of awareness, evidenced in learners' reports that reflect varying degrees and types of awareness. These reports take the forms of post-exposure questionnaire (e.g., Robinson 1995a, 1996) and think-aloud protocols administered during a crossword puzzle (Leow 1997, 2001) or a multiple-choice jigsaw puzzle task (Rosa & Leow 2004, Rosa & O'Neill 1999). Whilst Robinson (1995a) found that only awareness at the level of

understanding had significant effects on learning, Leow (1997, 2001), Rosa & Leow (2004) and Rosa & O'Neill (1999) found that awareness at the level of understanding led to learners' better ability to generalise intake to new exemplars of the target structures⁶ than awareness at the level of noticing, and the latter resulted in better performance of the learners compared to those who did not display evidence of awareness of the target forms. In Rosa & Leow (2004), the positive effects of awareness were observed to be sustained three weeks after the instructional treatment. These studies demonstrate that higher levels of awareness led to 'more complex and sophisticated types of input processing that allow for extraction of patterns from specific instances of a given L2 structure' (Rosa & Leow 2004, p. 287).

Having discussed some arguments supporting the positive effects of explicit knowledge, it is necessary to examine what the nature of such knowledge is, and what roles it may play in learning.

3. The nature and roles of explicit knowledge

Bialystok (1981, 1982, 1991, 1994a, 1994b) specifies explicit knowledge as knowledge that is analysed. The process of analysis is explained as that 'by which linguistic and conceptual representations become more explicit, more structured, and more accessible to inspection' (Bialystok 1994a, p. 561). There are two ways in which explicit knowledge can be obtained. It is either derived from implicit knowledge through analysis or learned directly as discrete and propositional information. In the former case, the learner becomes aware of a structure underlying his/her implicit knowledge as a result of analysis, and then sees the language in abstract terms. The latter applies to cases where linguistic rules are taught in input in formal instruction.

Explicit knowledge is different from implicit knowledge in that it is 'organised around formal categories and related to other concepts through formal conceptual connections; explicit knowledge can be uniquely accessed' (p. 561). According to Bialystok (1981), explicit (analysed) knowledge is abstract in that it is 'analytic, structurally identifiable, and independent of specific contextual constraints' (p. 33).

⁶ The target structures were the irregular third person singular and plural preterit forms of stem-changing *-ir* verbs in Spanish in Leow (1997, 2001) and Spanish contrary to fact conditional sentences in the past in Rosa & Leow (2004) and Rosa & O'Neill (1999).

It is systematic, organised information that is general and transferable to various situations and contexts (p. 34). It is also explanatory in that the logical basis of this type of knowledge is understood independently of its application (p. 34).

The result of analysis is learners' deeper understanding of language in general, about its structure and possibilities (Bialystok 1994a, p. 561). Learning a new word or structure may trigger restructuring of the representation of language with increased level of explicitness. However, although explicit knowledge may allow learners to formulate verbal rules, it is not necessarily represented to them as a set of rules (Bialystok 1981, p 34). Explicit knowledge may or may not be conscious and it may not be articulated as a particular linguistic rule (see also Bialystok 1994a). Only part of analysed knowledge becomes the basis for metalinguistic knowledge, 'the understanding of the formal system of language and its structure' (p. 561).

Seen in this way, it can be said that explicit instruction assists learners to represent aspects of the language explicitly. However, they may not use the language fluently at early stages when they have not developed automatic access to their knowledge, after practice.

As Truscott (1998, p. 125) states, automatised metalinguistic knowledge can, in certain cases, supplement competence by possibly allowing speakers to make up for weaknesses in their linguistic competence, although this can also block the use of competence, affecting fluency and accuracy. Terrell (1991) and VanPatten (1993) also state that metalinguistic knowledge can help learners to improve comprehension, which assists the development of competence. More recently, VanPatten (2004b), who takes the position that explicit information is not necessary provided that the input is manipulated to force learners to readjust their processing and parsing strategies, acknowledged the role of explicit information to be 'to alert learners to a form-meaning connection that subsequently might speed up the resolution of processing failure' (p. 334). Metalinguistic knowledge can also help learners to improve grammaticality of their output and improve auto-input. Moreover, since explicit knowledge is 'developed functionally in response to communicative needs' (Bialystok 1994a, pp. 566-567), instruction that includes explanation of the communicative functions of certain linguistic forms including *ni* passives (see Chapter 2, Section 3-3) is expected to be effective.

4. Roles of output

So far, I have focused on the roles of input in instruction, and in particular, provision of explicit knowledge. However, output also plays a crucial role in the process of SLA. On the basis of the observation that learners on the Canadian French immersion programme continued to make grammatical errors and deviated from NSs' performance in this respect despite many years' exposure to comprehensible input, Swain (1985) argued that it was the lack of opportunities to produce the language that was responsible for the performance of these learners. Accordingly, she formulated the output hypothesis, which predicts that output provides learners with the opportunity to use language meaningfully and when communication breaks down, they are 'pushed toward the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed, but that is conveyed precisely, coherently, and appropriately' (p. 249). This process contributes to language learning.

Swain (1993, 1995, 1998) further refined this hypothesis and proposed the following three functions of output that relate to accuracy rather than fluency⁷. The first function of output is to promote noticing (see also Swain & Lapkin 1995). In producing the TL, 'learners may notice a gap between what they *want* to say and what they *can* say, leading them to recognize what they do not know, or know only partially' (Swain 1995, pp.125-126, emphasis in the original). Conscious recognition of problems can trigger cognitive processes that can lead to learning. Also, as Swain (1993) argues, in producing language, learners may be forced to move from semantic to syntactic processing. Whilst comprehension may be achieved by semantic processing of the message ignoring certain details of linguistic forms, production requires focusing on linguistic forms, including syntactic knowledge such as word order and selection of the grammatical subject. As we shall see in describing Gass's (1988, 1997) model of SLA in Chapter 3, Section 3, analysis at the syntactic rather than semantic level is more useful in promoting intake. The second function of output is that of hypothesis testing. By producing language, learners can test their hypotheses about the TL features. They may obtain feedback from the interlocutor and this can lead to modification of existing hypotheses and learning. Finally, output has a metalinguistic function. Learners sometimes produce language

⁷ Swain (1995, p. 125) acknowledges the function of output of improving fluency, but considers this as non-controversial.

and then reflect upon it. According to Swain (1995), 'as learners reflect upon their own target language use, their output serves a metalinguistic function, enabling them to control and internalize linguistic knowledge' (p. 126). Empirical evidence of the effect of such metalinguistic reflection is available in studies conducted by Donato (1994), LaPierre (1994 cited in Swain 1995, pp. 138-140) and so on. In Donato (1994), for instance, a group of three learners planned for an oral activity and in the course of this preparation expressed their hypothesis about the correct linguistic form (e.g., the explicit mention of 'reflexive' for the use of the French verb *souvenir* 'to remember'). Of all the observed collective scaffolding⁸ in the planning session, 75% lead to correct use a week later. Swain (1995) asserts that this is 'impressive evidence of language learning' (p. 138). Thus, it can be said that talking about language form in a meaning-based task can promote learning.

Conscious reflection on output, such as the form a learner produces, does not necessarily contain metalinguistic terminology; it is talk about how learners think about the TL or the hypotheses they have formed about the language. It can deepen learners' awareness of forms, rules and functions of certain linguistic features, and the relationship of these to the meaning they are trying to express.

5. Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, form-focused instruction can assist the learner to pay attention to the linguistic form(s) to be learned. Focused attention allows the learner to notice the relevant aspects of the language. Once noticed, intake becomes possible, which in turn opens up the possibility of integration of new linguistic information into the learner's developing system.

Explicit instruction can assist learners to focus their attention on forms and meanings in the input that they may not notice on their own, by changing their expectations (e.g., N. Ellis 1993, R. Ellis 1994, Schmidt 1990, 2001, Schmidt & Frota 1986, Terrell 1991, Tomlin & Villa 1994, VanPatten 1994).

The present study is a contribution to the evaluation of the role of explicit knowledge, based on empirical evidence. Following the 'weak interface' position that recognises an indirect contribution of explicit knowledge in learning described

⁸ Donato (1994) explains the phenomenon of scaffolding as a situation where 'in social interaction a knowledgeable participant can create, by means of speech, supportive conditions in which the novice can participate in, and extend current skills and knowledge to higher levels of competence' (p. 40).

earlier, I provided learners of Japanese with explicit knowledge in experimental situations⁹. The structural forms chosen are *ni* passives, which show certain striking and complex meanings of affectedness, as well as the function of presenting the occurred event subjectively (see Chapter 2, Section 3). More specifically, the learners in the Experimental group were provided with the information that all instances of *ni* passives encode the meaning that the grammatical subject was affected by the occurred event and that these passives have a function of describing the event subjectively. The learners in the Control group were taught that *ni* DPs encode the same information as the active from the point of view of the grammatical subject, and PPs and *Vi* passives encode the adversity (negative) meaning and also describe the event from the passive subject's viewpoint. It was expected that this explicit knowledge would encourage the learners to create the connections between these *ni* passive forms and their functional meanings, by focusing the learners' attention on these passive forms in input, and that it would increase the likelihood of these forms being noticed and processed in the subsequent input, including the natural input provided during the Period Abroad Programme. It was expected that this focused attention, encouraged by the explicit instruction provided to the learners, would be conducive to learning and production of *ni* passives. It was further hypothesised on the basis of the argument provided in Chapter 2 that the approach adopted in teaching the Experimental group would be more effective than that used for the Control group. The empirical evidence of these claims will be provided in Chapter 6.

Having reviewed issues of SLA that are of particular relevance to the present study, I shall now examine in detail the target L2 structures, Japanese *ni* passives.

⁹ See Chapter 3, Section 5 for the details of the reasons for adopting explicit instruction in the present study.

Chapter 2: An Analysis of Japanese Passives

1. Introduction

My intention in this chapter is to review analyses of the meanings and functions of Japanese passives and to suggest a framework for describing them to JFL learners. I shall begin by considering some of the controversial issues that surround this subject such as the distinction between the direct passive (DP) and the indirect passive (IP), the status of the possessor passive (PP) and the origin of what is referred to as the adversity meaning.

My main claim is that despite the overall value of the studies conducted so far, the issues of how and why *ni* passives are used in communicative situations have not been given full consideration. It is important to examine how *ni* passives are used **in context**, in order to understand their characteristics and functions.

In search of an efficient and effective way of teaching *ni* passives, I shall propose in Section 2-5-2 a modified version of Kuroda's (1979) notion of 'affectivity', which is interpreted in relation to semantic and pragmatic constraints.

In Section 3, the focus shifts to the issue of the motivations for the selection of *ni* passives. I argue that this selection reflects not only the manner in which the speaker conceptualises the event but also his/her communicative needs.

In the last part of this chapter (Section 4), I shall place *ni* passives in a wider context of linguistic devices encoding affective stances that are available in the Japanese language, by referring to Caffi & Janney's (1994) devices for an analysis of emotive communication. Here, *ni* passives will be related to benefactives and the *te simau* construction (which encodes a sense of regret, misfortune, inconvenience and sometimes unintentionality). It is suggested that introducing *ni* passives to learners in this wider context may be more effective than treating them separately.

Two points should be made clear from the outset. First, it is not the purpose of this chapter to examine the syntactic basis of the theories that are reviewed, or to suggest a new theory or classification of Japanese passives. Instead, I shall illustrate how Japanese *ni* passives can be described to learners in a cognitively manageable manner and with considerations of pragmatic constraints and communicative needs of the speaker. My main interest lies in an efficient and effective way of teaching *ni* passives to JFL learners and this necessarily involves simplification in the

description of the target forms. Secondly, my focus in this study is *ni* passives with a human subject. This is because I am interested in communication failure that may occur when learners do not use *ni* passives in situations in which NSs use these forms (see Introduction), and situations that involve humans are more likely to be relevant. *Ni* passives with an inanimate subject will briefly be described when I discuss Kuroda's (1979) notion of affectivity in Section 2-5-1.

This chapter provides a theoretical basis for the claim I shall make in the chapters to follow with regard to the processes of learning to use *ni* passives appropriately, and a possible effective way of introducing *ni* passives to learners.

2. Japanese passives

2-1. Classification of Japanese passives: direct vs. indirect passives, and the status of possessor passives

Japanese passives are most commonly classified into the direct passive (DP) and the indirect passive (IP) in discussions of both theoretical and pedagogical issues related to these constructions, and this classification is also sometimes adopted in textbooks for teaching Japanese as a second/foreign language (see below). Let us first look at some examples of Japanese *ni* passives with a human subject.

- (1) *Ken-no musume-ga sensei-ni sikar-are-ta.*
 Ken's daughter-Nom teacher-by scold-Pass-Past
 (Ken's daughter was scolded by the teacher and was negatively affected by this.)

At the structural level, the example in (1) is referred to as the direct passive (DP) (Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976)¹, since it has the active counterpart

- (2) *Sensei-ga Ken-no musume-o sikat-ta*
 teacher-Nom Ken's daughter-Acc scold-Past
 (The teacher scolded Ken's daughter).

The direct object of this active sentence *Ken-no musume* (Ken's daughter) is assigned the nominative case and the grammatical subject of the active, *sensei* (teacher), is marked as the agent with *ni* (by). The passive is marked by the

¹ I shall follow Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976) and Kuroda (1979), who use the terms 'direct passive' and 'indirect passive' 'simply for the purposes of exposition at the phenomenal level without any commitment to particular analyses' (Kuroda 1979, p. 305). See Section 2-5-1 below.

morpheme (*r*)*are*². In the DP, the grammatical subject is directly influenced by the agent's action. Example (3) is an instance of the passivisation of an intransitive verb (Vi passive) with *huru* (to fall):

- (3) *Ken-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta*
 Ken-Nom rain-by fall-Pass-Past
 (It rained and Ken was negatively affected by this);

it has no active counterpart and is called the indirect passive (IP). Example (4) is what is sometimes referred to as the possessor passive (PP):

- (4) *Ken-ga sensei-ni musume-o sikar-are-ta*
 Ken-Nom teacher-by daughter-Acc scold-Pass-Past
 (Ken had his daughter scolded by the teacher and was negatively affected by this³);

its specification in terms of the DP/IP dichotomy is controversial (see below). It contains Ken, the possessor of the object *musume* (daughter), as the grammatical subject, which is assigned the nominative case. The object *musume* is marked by the accusative case and the agent *sensei* (teacher) appears with *ni* (by). As in (3), the influence that the grammatical subject receives from the event is indirect. Notably, in both (1) and (4), the described event is the same; the teacher scolded Ken's daughter. However, as the grammatical subjects of these sentences are different, the person who is described as having been **affected** (see Section 2-5) by the same event is different in (1) and (4). In (1) it is *musume* who is affected, while in (4) it is *Ken*.

Passives are also characterised at the semantic level and (1) is referred to as the 'neutral/pure passive' and (3) the 'adversity/adversative passive' (e.g., Howard & Niyekawa-Howard 1976, Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1978). In (3), the subject *Ken* is described as having been **adversely affected** by the rain, whereas there is allegedly no adversity meaning arising from passivisation in (1). The PP (4) also encodes 'adversity' but this meaning is not necessarily a general characteristic of PPs, as we shall see shortly.

These observations motivate the association of the opposition of the DP vs. IP with

² The morpheme *are* is used when the verb stem ends with a consonant and *are* when it ends with a vowel.

³ The translations I provide are literal so that they may reflect the structures and subtleties of the original sentences/utterances.

that of neutral/pure vs. adversity/adversative passives. However, as Kuroda (1979) points out, these terms should not be used as mere terminological variants since '[t]he former are concerned with a distinction at the phenomenal level' and '[t]he latter must be understood with reference to a particular analysis or interpretation of the relevant phenomenon' (p. 344). I shall return to the problems with the distinction between the DP and the IP shortly.

The specification of where PPs fit in the classification in terms of the DP and the IP is a complicated issue⁴. Kudo (1990, pp. 55-56) considers PPs to be similar to DPs and different from IPs, although she takes a position that these passives lie between DPs and IPs. One of the reasons for this is because the subject Hanako in

- (5) *Hanako-ga (Taro-ni) kodomo-o koros-are-ru*
 Hanako-Nom (Taro-by) child-Acc kill-Pass-Nonpast
 (Hanako is about to have her child killed (by Taro))⁵

(see also Example (4) above) exists in the genitive form in the active counterpart

- (6) *Taro-ga Hanako-no kodomo-o koros-u*
 Taro-Nom Hanako's child-Acc kill-Nonpast
 (Taro is going to kill Hanako's child)

(p. 52, emphasis added). Teramura (1982, p. 245), who considers PPs as IPs, also recognises continuity within various PP sentences, as well as between the DP and the IP mediated by these PPs. Thus, in sentences having the general structure

- (7) *X-ga Y-ni Z-o V-rare-ru*
 X-Nom Y-by Z-Acc V-Pass-Nonpast

the degree of adversity varies, depending on the nature of Z. Z in any case is generally something that belongs to X, such as a part of X's body, X's family/relatives/someone related to X, X's belongings and the space that belongs to X, and the degree of adversity decreases in that order⁶, along with the shift from

⁴ See Yamauchi (1997), for instance.

⁵ It should be noted that in quoting examples from other studies, I have added my own translations or modified the original ones, to reflect the point the author or I am making, particularly with regard to the presence or absence of the affective meaning as well as its nature. I have also modified the formatting and the Romanisation to be consistent with the other examples.

⁶ Shibatani (1997, pp. 2-3) points out that the degree of adversity **increases** in the stated order. PPs with a body

similarity with DPs to IPs. Further justifications for the observation that PPs function as a bridge between DPs and IPs (see also Moriyama 1988, Nitta 1992) will be examined in the next section.

The classification described above is also used in beginners' textbooks for JSL/JFL learners. They generally adopt the notions of the DP and the IP, with the PP often included in the IP. This classification is occasionally presented explicitly by introducing terms such as the 'direct passive' and the 'indirect passive' (e.g., *Situational functional Japanese Vol. 3: notes*, p. 13), or the 'neutral passive' (for the DP) and the 'suffering passive' (for the IP) (e.g., *Communication Japanese style I: explanatory notes *, p. 172). In a majority of other textbooks, this classification is implicit in that they introduce these passives separately under different sections or chapters. As for the meanings of these passives, DPs are often taught as semantically neutral, or synonymous with their active counterparts, and are taught in terms of conversion of active sentences. IPs (PPs and Vi passives) are generally treated as encoding a negative or the adversity meaning. Although the term 'adversity' or 'adversative' is not normally used⁷, similarly strongly negative expressions appear, such as 'suffers damage' (*Nihongo syokyuu II: bunpoosetumei Eigo-ban*, p. 43), 'suffer[s] a consequence' (*An introduction to modern Japanese*, p. 303) and 'injurious or detrimental' (*Japanese for everyone*, p. 295), or somewhat milder but still negative terms are used, such as 'confounding or unwelcome' (*Nihongo 90-niti Vol. 2: manyuaru Eigo-ban*, p. 99). However, focusing on such terms does not explain or reflect the actual use of *ni* passives in that they are used by NSs for much less 'detrimental' or even beneficial situations such as having a child touch your hair, or having your teacher correct your errors. Therefore, the notion of 'adversity' or related meanings may not be helpful for learners. The distinction between the DP vs. IP, or DP vs. PP vs. IP (where PP is not included in the IP) has further problems, which I shall now discuss.

2-2. The source of the adversity meaning

As we have just seen, PPs display semantic continuity ranging from closer to DPs and IPs. Indeed, the characterisation of a PP (which some theorists refer to as an IP)

part are regarded as being semantically similar to DPs, which do not have the adversity meaning, if the impact of the action is strong and/or a central part of the body is involved (Shibatani 1997, 2000). See below.

⁷ One exception to this is *An introduction to modern Japanese Book 1: grammar lessons*.

as in Example (8) is not straightforward⁸:

- (8) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni atama-o nagur-are-ta*
Ziro-Top Taro-by head-Acc beat-Pass-Past
(Ziro had his head beaten by Taro).

It has little semantic difference from the DP that can be used to describe the same situation in

- (9) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni nagur-are-ta*
Ziro-Top Taro-by beat-Pass-Past
(Ziro was beaten by Taro)

in that the adversity meaning arises from the lexical meaning of the verb rather than from the passive construction itself (Shibatani 1994, 1997, 2000; examples taken from Shibatani 2000, p. 179). In Example (10), on the other hand,

- (10) *Ken-ga Taroo-ni supiiti kontesuto-de yuusyoos-are-ta*
Ken-Nom Taro-by at the speech contest win the first prize-Pass-Past
(Ken had Taro win the first prize at the speech contest and was negatively affected by this)

the obtained adversity meaning is inherent in the passive construction. On the basis of this qualitative difference between these two sources of adversity meaning, Shibatani states that what he refers to as the IP in (8) (which we shall call PP), in which the adversity meaning originates from the lexical meaning of the verb *naguru* (to beat), is not an instance of the adversative passive.

Furthermore, as Shibatani (2000, p. 179) points out, the dichotomy between the DP and the IP does not explain why there is a difference in the degree of adversity between (8) and (11), which can also be categorised as an PP:

- (11) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni ototoo-no atama-o nagur-are-ta*
Ziro-Top Taro-by younger brother's head-Acc beat-Pass-Past
(Ziro had his younger brother's head beaten by Taro and was negatively affected by this).

⁸ The distinction between the use of the topical *wa* and the nominative *ga* in example sentences is not significant in the present study. In Example (8), *Ziroo* is the topicalised grammatical subject in *Ziroo-wa* (Ziro-Top), whereas Ziro in *Ziroo-ga* (Ziro-Nom) is the grammatical subject.

According to Shibatani, only the latter has the adversity meaning (originating from the passive construction). In the same way, the adversity meaning is also found in (12) (p. 180), which has a parallel structure to (8):

- (12) *Hanako-wa Taro-ni osiri-o sawar-are-ta*
 Hanako-Top Taro-by hips-Acc touch-Pass-Past
 (Hanako had her hips touched by Taro and was negatively affected by this).

This means that some PPs (which are referred to as IPs by some theorists) (such as (8)) have semantic similarities with DPs (such as (9)), and others (such as (11) and (12)) do not. This leads to inconsistency within the same category of the IP (including PP), which may lead us to question the validity of the distinction between the DP and the IP as a dichotomy, at least in explaining when the adversity meaning obtains and why. From a pedagogical point of view, it seems to be confusing that sentences that share the same surface structure 'A-ga B-ni C-o Pass' differ semantically.

Similarly, as pointed out by a number of linguists including Howard & Niyekawa-Howard (1976), Kuno (1983) and Shibatani (2000), there are DPs with the adversity meaning, as in Example (13) (from Shibatani 2000, p. 180):

- (13) *Hanako-wa Taro-ni ohuisu-no soto-de 1-zikan-mo mat-are-ta*
 Hanako-Top Taro-by outside her office for as long as one hour wait-Pass-Past
 (Hanako had Taro waiting for her outside her office for as long as one hour and was negatively affected by this),

and there are what Kuno (1973, 1983) calls IPs (which are PPs for us) with no adversity meaning as in Example (14) (from Kuno 1983, p. 210):

- (14) *Boku-wa kodomo-o sensei-ni home-rare-ta*
 I-Top child-Acc teacher-by praise-Pass-Past
 (I had my child praised by the teacher and was positively affected by this).

Thus, both the **hybrid** nature of PPs and the discrepancies displayed by some of the DPs and IPs (in Shibatani 2000, Kuno 1973, 1983) point to the semantic continuity between DPs and IPs.

The next question to ask is how the adversity meaning is obtained if it cannot simply be associated with IPs. Kuno (1983) attempts to answer this question by

introducing the concept of involvement. According to Kuno (p. 205), the higher the involvement of the subject of the *ni* passive sentence with the described event or psychological state, the higher the possibility of obtaining the neutral interpretation; the lower the involvement of the subject of the *ni* passive sentence with the described event or psychological state, the higher the possibility of obtaining the adversity meaning. This principle of involvement predicts (9) to be the 'neutral passive', since Ziro is directly involved with the event of getting beaten, and (10), with its passivisation of an intransitive verb, to be an instance of the 'adversity passive', since Ken is not directly involved with the event of Taro winning the first prize in a speech contest⁹.

According to Kuno, the adversity meaning arises in cases like (10) out of the necessity of justifying the presence of the subject that is not directly involved in the event¹⁰ described by the verb¹¹. If the subject was adversely affected by the event, then s/he becomes capable of becoming a participant in that event and its presence in the sentence can be justified. This means that the emergence of the interpretation that the subject is involved is mediated by the adversity meaning. I shall shortly discuss why this interpretation is oriented towards adversity rather than benefactive meaning.

⁹ According to Kuno (1983, p. 210), the reason why

Yamada-wa musuko-o sensei-ni home-rare-ta
 Yamada-Top son-Acc teacher-by praise-Pass-Past
 (Yamada had his son praised by the teacher and was positively affected by this)

has a neutral (or positive in this paper) meaning rather than the adversity meaning is because the subject of this sentence can be said to be directly involved with the event. Praising Yamada's son counts as praising Yamada himself in that it is like giving a compliment 'You have a nice son'. It seems to me, however, that there are two different interpretations for this sentence, both affecting Yamada positively to probably the same degree. The first interpretation is to receive a compliment about one's son directly from the teacher, as in Kuno's interpretation. This can be said to be the same as receiving a compliment about oneself, as Kuno states. The second interpretation is that the teacher praised Yamada's son directly for what he had done (such as getting excellent exam results) in Yamada's absence. Incidentally, it is this interpretation that contrasts with

Boku/watasi-wa musuko-o sensei-ni sikar-are-ta
 I-Top son-Acc teacher-by scold-Pass-Past
 (I had my son scolded by the teacher and was negatively affected by this).

Yamada would have been less involved in the latter interpretation than in the former and a stronger adversity meaning is expected in the latter, according to Kuno's principle. However, the latter has a positive (or neutral in Kuno's term) meaning. It is not clear how a similar degree of positive meaning is derived from one sentence that can represent two different situations involving the grammatical subject to quite different degrees. Furthermore, Kuno (p. 210) states that *Yamada-wa musuko-o sensei-ni homerareta* is not necessarily an IP since its active 'counterpart' is likely to be *Sensei-ga Yamada-ni, musuko (-no koto)-o hometa* (The teacher gave a compliment to Yamada about his son). Again, this is only related to the first interpretation of the two possible meanings of the sentence in question. If the second interpretation is adopted, it is an IP.

¹⁰ I will refer to an action or psychological state as 'event' for convenience.

¹¹ See also Shibatani (1994, 1997).

Expanding on Kuno's notion of involvement, Shibatani (1997, 2000) explains in a principled manner when and why the adversity meaning obtains. According to Shibatani, the adversity meaning does not obtain when the subject is **totally** involved with the event, as in (8). In such a situation, the subject cannot observe the event as an interested bystander since the impact of the action is too strong to allow for such an observation. It is when a peripheral part of the body is involved, as in

- (15) *Hanako-wa Taro-ni koyubi-o kam-are-ta*
 Hanako-Top Taro-by little finger-Acc bite-Pass-Past
 (Hanako had her little finger bitten by Taro and was negatively affected by this)
 (Shibatani 2000, p. 180),

or when the impact of the action is weak (as in (12) above) that the adversity meaning obtains. In such cases, the subject can be described as being capable of looking at the event as an interested bystander/observer and feeling the adverse effect that falls upon him/her.

In the same vein, the adversity meaning obtains in (13), which is a DP, since the action of waiting allows the subject to observe this event from outside. In terms of the principle of involvement, Taro's action of waiting is taken independently of Hanako and thus does not involve her, giving rise to the adversity meaning.

Despite the insightful observation made by Shibatani, the specification of the strength of impact and centrality of the body part is not always straightforward or purely semantic. For instance, *sawar-are-ru* (touch-Pass-Nonpast), involves the patient through physical contact¹², and is expected to encode less adversity than *mitumer-are-ru* (stare at-Pass-Nonpast), which does not involve such a contact and allows for an observation by the patient as an innocent bystander (Shibatani 2000, pp. 180-181). But the degree of adversity also depends on the cultural/ethical implications of these actions, or whether touching someone is less impolite than staring at him/her. This in turn depends on how one touches or stares at someone and so on. It is therefore difficult to state that the adversity meaning arising in these passives is due only to the impact of the action. Similarly, it is not easy to specify which parts of the body count as central or peripheral. For instance, it is difficult to say whether cheeks are more peripheral than hair and accordingly to judge whether

¹² See Section 3-1 for the issue of transitivity.

kami-o sawarareru (to have one's hair touched and be affected) encodes stronger adversity than *hoppeta-o sawarareru* (to have one's cheek touched and be affected). Here again, cultural/ethical implications are also likely to play a part. Thus, Example (12) above can be said to have a strong adversity meaning (unless the context indicates otherwise) not only because it contains an action of a weak impact but also because it is generally regarded as an unacceptable behaviour in most cultures to touch someone's hips. Such an interpretation arises from our knowledge of the world¹³, on top of the location/importance of hips in one's body (i.e., whether they are central or peripheral), and the impact of the action. The difficulty in deciding the degree of adversity on the basis of the impact of the action and the centrality of the body part is predicted to be even greater when verbs with varying degrees of impact are combined with various parts of the body in terms of the central vs. peripheral distinction. A question arises as to the degree of adversity meaning involved when a peripheral part of the body receives a strong impact and a central part a weak impact.

One question may be asked at this stage as to why the interpretation of the affective meaning of *ni* passives is biased towards the adversity rather than benefactive meaning unless the context indicates otherwise. Shibatani (1997) takes a similar approach to Wierzbicka (1988) and relates this to the unintentional nature of the occurrence of the event described by passive sentences as well as our worldview. That is, we tend to consider that intentional actions are taken in order to bring about favourable results. Events brought about without our intending them tend to result in unfavourable results (Shibatani 1997, pp. 18-19). Shibatani argues that this tendency is based on our worldview, which reflects our belief that we need to interfere with the nature (or the current state) with an intention to bring about favourable results in order to obtain them. Such a view, according to Shibatani, is based on our experience, such as a bicycle being stolen or vegetables rotting as a result of being left unattended.

In Shibatani (1994), the bias of the interpretation of IPs towards the adversity rather than benefactive meaning is related to the availability in the Japanese language of benefactive constructions, such as

¹³ By knowledge of the world, I mean the speaker's or the hearer's encyclopaedic knowledge about the world that includes cultural and social knowledge, such as what counts as acceptable behaviour in a given culture.

- (16) *Watasi-wa haha-ni hon-o kat-te morat-ta*
 I-Top mother-Dat book-Acc buy-Ben: receive a favour-Past
 (I received my mother's favour of buying me a book. / I got my mother to buy a book for me),

which, as one of their functions, encode gratitude¹⁴.

This is explained in the following statement, in which one instance of the 'extra-thematic argument construction' is the adversity/adversative (in Shibatani) (indirect) passive:

Whether the extra-thematic argument construction is exclusively associated with the adversity reading or it permits the benefactive reading depends to a great extent on whether or not a given language has a distinct benefactive construction. Japanese, for example, has a distinct benefactive construction, and therefore its indirect passive is typically associated with the adversity reading. (p. 481)

Thus, the availability of the benefactive *te morau* in the grammar of Japanese orientates 'affective passives' towards the adversity meaning. Implied here is a **division of work** between passives and the benefactive *te morau*, in terms of which the explanation of *ni* passives and benefactives seems to be a clear and manageable way of learning the functions of these constructions for learners of Japanese. I shall explain how *ni* passives were taught in relation to benefactives (and *te simau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) in Chapter 4, Section 2-2.

2-3. Problems of the distinction between direct and indirect passives for learners

As we have seen above, the distinction between the DP and the IP is not endorsed by semantic justifications in a consistent manner. Some examples of DPs (such as Example (13)) have the adversity meaning, which is a characteristic typically associated with IPs, whereas some IPs (such as Example (14)) have no adversity meaning. Moreover, the issue of whether the adversity meaning originates in the lexical meaning of the verb (e.g. (8) and (9)) or in the passive construction (e.g.

¹⁴ Strictly speaking, the speaker does not necessarily have to feel grateful for someone's action. In fact, *te kureru* may be better interpreted as 'someone does something for me', and *te morau* as 'I get someone to do something for me'. I continue to use the term 'gratitude' simply for convenience without implying that this is the encoded meaning of all benefactive constructions. I shall also translate *te kureru* as 'to "give" a favour of/do a favour by doing something' and *te morau* as 'to receive a favour of doing something'. See Pizziconi (2000) for a discussion of the meanings and NSs' use of these constructions.

(10)) may not be easy to judge or infer for beginners, who lack NS intuitions. Such analytical abilities are certainly not something one can reasonably expect of beginners¹⁵. There are also degrees of adversity in relation to the impact of the action and the centrality of the affected part of the body (for some of the PPs). All these cast doubt on the usefulness of the dichotomy of the DP and the IP in teaching/learning materials for learners. As we have seen, the existence of PPs, which show varying degrees of similarities with DPs or IPs, justifies analysis of *ni* passives on a continuum. These findings at the theoretical level should be carefully examined when making decisions regarding the methodology and approach to be adopted in teaching. What we need is a model that reflects the semantic continuity between DPs and IPs on a scale, rather than one that treats these passives as a discontinuous dichotomy. I shall propose such a model later on.

Another problem that arises from the distinction between DPs and IPs is that the dichotomy between the DP (Example (1)) and the IP (Example (3)) is often associated with the use of transitive and intransitive verbs. Thus, Vi passives such as Examples (3) and (10) are specified as IPs with the adversity meaning. However, as learners themselves often admit, many beginners have a problem making a distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs¹⁶ and for them the distinction between the DP and the IP may prove too difficult. There seems to be no point in presenting a concept that is based on a distinction that learners cannot make. Any model that relies on this distinction is likely to cause confusion. If such a model is to be adopted nevertheless, then the introduction of passives should be postponed until learners can make the transitive/intransitive distinction¹⁷. Given the problems related to the DP vs. IP distinction, and the status of the IP in particular, I shall avoid the term ‘indirect passive’ and only refer to DPs, PPs and Vi passives, except when

¹⁵ In fact, even some of the advanced learners who attended Professor Masayoshi Shibatani’s seminar on ‘Voice in Japanese’ at Oxford University in September 2002 expressed surprise and confusion that Example (8) has no adversity meaning, although what was intended was that it has no adversity meaning that arises from the passive construction. Such an observation requires NSs’ intuition.

¹⁶ This phenomenon was commonly observed in my experiments, in which the use of *wareru* (Vi: to become broken)/*waru* (Vt: to break) and *yabureru* (Vi: to become torn)/*yaburu* (Vt: to tear) were tested. The confusion over the verbal forms, as reflected in the appearance of **-o ware-rare-ru* (-Acc break: Vi-Pass-Nonpast), was observed to such an extent as to force me to drop these items from the analysis.

¹⁷ Interestingly, some of the textbooks such as *Minna no Nihongo syokyuu II: honsatu* and *Minna no Nihongo syokyuu II: honyaku, bunpoo kaisetu Eigo-ban (Translation & grammatical notes)* exclude Vi passives from the section on passives. Also, Tanaka (2005b) states that it is pointless to teach these passives to beginners since they are not ready to acquire them. I argue that if we adopt the approach proposed here, which does not make a distinction between passives based on transitive and intransitive verbs, we can introduce Vi passives at the same time.

referring to other people's work or discussing the DP vs. IP distinction.

2-4. Roles of context, discourse and knowledge of the world in interpretation of *ni* passives: a dynamic approach

The point I made about the knowledge of culture indicates the necessity of considering factors other than the meanings encoded in *ni* passive sentences. In actual communication, factors such as discourse, context and knowledge of the world all play an important role in both utterance interpretation and production. Analyses that are restricted to the specification of the meanings of *ni* passive sentences or even the core elements of passive sentences (such as the agent, patient and the possessor), separated from these other factors, do not reflect the whole picture. For instance, some of the examples discussed above can be interpreted differently when they are re-considered in a wider perspective that includes semantic and pragmatic constraints from outside the passive sentence. Thus, Kuno's example (14) (see also footnote 9) may be interpreted as indicating a negative effect on the speaker if he was embarrassed by the praising for some reason. Neutral verbs such as *iu* (to say/tell) can be positive or negative or anywhere in between, depending on what is in the complement clause (or the nature of the statement made by the agent). The interpretation is further constrained by factors such as the hearer's understanding of the speaker's intention. Thus, being called silly may not affect the recipient of this message in a negative way if it is taken as a friendly joke that reflects positive politeness in the sense of Brown & Levinson (1978/1987).

My position is that all *ni* passive utterances should be interpreted dynamically in a wider scope than within the core elements of passive sentences to include context, discourse and knowledge of the world. Indeed, research that includes these elements in analysis has emerged in recent years. Shibatani's (1997, 2000) consideration of central/peripheral parts of the body takes us beyond passive constructions themselves, and Machida (2004), Takami (1995) and Takami & Kuno (2002) also incorporate elements other than the core elements of passive sentences in their analyses. For instance, Machida (2004, p. 397) correctly points out that the oddity of

- (17) **Taroo-ga zisin ni okir-are-te, uti-ga kowas-are-ta*
Taro-Nom earthquake-by occur-Pass-Ger house-Nom destroy-Pass-Past
(Taro had an earthquake occur and was negatively affected by this, and his house

was destroyed)

improves in

- (18) *Yoti-mo site nai noni, koo tugi kara tugi e to zisin-ni*
when we have not even predicted them one after another like this earthquake-by
okir-are-te wa komaru
occur-Pass-Ger if we are in trouble
(We are in trouble if we have earthquakes occur one after another like this when we
have not even predicted them)

as an utterance made by a staff member of an earthquake research laboratory. Similarly, Kuroda (1979) lists examples in which the meaning of adversity does not obtain given the relevant context.

These kinds of semantic and pragmatic considerations should be extended to all instances of *ni* passives in consideration of context, discourse and knowledge of the world because they play an important role in the interpretation of *ni* passive utterances as they are used in actual communication. These considerations are also important pedagogically, in assisting learners to become effective communicators in the language. Also, as we shall see in Section 2-5-3, the incorporation of these semantic and pragmatic factors makes it more reasonable to reduce the meaning of *ni* passives to a more general notion of **affectivity** rather than **adversity**. Let us now examine this notion, proposed by Kuroda (1979).

2-5. Affectivity of *ni* passives

2-5-1. Kuroda's (1979) approach

Basing his argument on the observations made by Inoue (1976), Kuroda (1979) proposes that '[t]he *ni* passive form, whether direct or indirect, carries a connotation of affectivity, which semantically distinguishes it from the *ni yotte* passive form' (p. 310) (see below). Kuroda provides a number of examples to support the semantic differences between these two types of passives in terms of affectivity, which manifests itself in various ways in different syntactic contexts. With an animate passive subject, this includes the affective meaning of the DP *mir-are-ru* (see-Pass-NonPast) (to be seen), which Kuroda relates to Jean-Paul Sartre's (1943 cited in Kuroda 1979, pp. 311-315) episode in which one is absorbed in an act of peeping into a room through a keyhole, and suddenly realises that s/he is being seen by

another (“being-seen-by-the-Other”). The *ni* passive subject’s consciousness reacts to, or is affected by, the external event (p. 322), resulting in a sense of shame, and in this passive, ‘an ego is related to another’s seeing it, or to itself being seen by another’ (p. 335). Kuroda considers this to be what is represented by the base form of the *ni* passive. Affectivity also manifests itself in the opposition of the *ni* vs. *ni yotte* passives, with the personally-involved, empathic meaning of the former, and the objective meaning of the latter¹⁸ (see below). With an inanimate passive subject and when combined with the *ta* form, the *ni* passive only allows for the perfective reading in

- (19) *Ano mati-wa Nippongun-ni hakais-are-ta*
 that town-Top Japanese army-by destroy-Pass-Perf
 (That town has been destroyed by the Japanese Army)
 (p. 327),

whereas the *ni yotte* passive renders the perfective or past meaning in

- (20) *Ano mati-wa Nippongun-ni yotte hakais-are-ta*
 that town-Top Japanese army-by destroy-Pass-Perf/Past
 (That town has been/was destroyed by the Japanese Army)
 (p. 327).

When combined with *te iru* in the progressive sense, the *ni yotte* passive in

- (21) *Ano mati-wa Nippongun-ni yotte hakais-are-te i-ru*
 that town-Top Japanese army-by destroy-Pass-Prog-Nonpast
 (That town is being destroyed by the Japanese Army)
 (p. 328)

is acceptable, whereas the *ni* passive in

- (22) **Ano mati-wa Nippongun-ni hakais-are-te i-ru*
 that town-Top Japanese army-by destroy-Pass-Perf-Nonpast
 (p. 328)

is ungrammatical in the progressive sense. Kuroda draws a generalisation from the

¹⁸ As Kuroda (1979) admits, the acceptability of some of his example sentences as well as the differences in meaning between *ni* and *ni yotte* passives are subtle in some of his example sentences. However, notably, the predictions made by Kuroda were supported by Hara’s (2002) data obtained from the non-expert (linguist) NSs in a grammaticality judgement test.

above examples that the *ni* passive may only be used as the perfective. The perfective meaning brought forward by the *ni* passive indicates a state of the passive subject that results from an event or process described by the main verb, and thus is considered to be one form of affectivity of the *ni* passive. Since passives with an inanimate subject are not the focus of the present study, I shall refer the readers to Kuroda (1979), and now elaborate more on the meanings of affectivity related to human subjects.

The *ni* passive in

- (23) *Bill-ga, nozokimisite iru tokoro-o John-ni hakkens-are-ta*
 Bill-Nom as he was peeping into a chamber John-by discover-Pass-Past
 (Bill was found by John as he was peeping into a chamber and was negatively affected by this)
- (p. 315),

for instance, has the encoded meaning that the grammatical subject was affected by the event, whereas the *ni yotte* passive in

- (24) *Bill-ga, nozokimisite iru tokoro-o John-ni yotte hakkens-are-ta*
 Bill-Nom as he was peeping into a chamber John-by discover-Pass-Past
 (Bill was found by John as he was peeping into a chamber)
- (p. 315)

is used as an objective description of the same event. Example (24) means the same as¹⁹

- (25) *Kesa John-ga Bill-ga nozokimi site iru tokoro-o hakken si-ta*
 this morning John-Nom as Bill was peeping into a chamber discover-Past
 (This morning John found Bill as Bill was peeping into a chamber)
- (p. 315).

Kuroda states that the affective ‘connotation’ (to use Kuroda’s term, see the next section) conveyed by the *ni* passive **form** in (23) is not so clear-cut because Bill’s feeling of shame can be rendered to an evaluative judgement made by the observer (p. 318). However, this resulting feeling of shame, according to Kuroda, could be derived pragmatically even in the active sentence of (25). However, I believe that

¹⁹ Kuroda states ‘**cognitively** the same’ (p. 315, emphasis added). However, since actives, *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives reflect different cognitive conceptualisation of an event (see Section 3-2), I avoid the term ‘cognitively’ here.

there is still a difference between the two, in the conceptualisation by the speaker/writer of the event. Since the former describes the event from Bill's viewpoint, and the latter from John's, the hearer/reader is more likely to empathise with Bill in the former and arrive at the interpretation of Bill's feeling of shame. In the latter, on the other hand, it may be more likely that the hearer/reader interprets that Bill did not care what John thought about his behaviour. This difference in meaning between the two supports the validity of the argument that *ni* passives are semantically distinct from the active (and *ni yotte* passives). The use of the *ni* passive form reflects the conceptualisation of the event as something that has happened to and **affected** the passive subject, and this is not the case with the active. I shall elaborate on this point in Section 3-2 below.

Kuroda (1985) modifies his position regarding the status of DPs in response to the criticism from Kuno (1983) and states that in the neutral passive such as

- (26) *Yamada-ga sensei-ni home-rare-ta*
 Yamada-Nom teacher-by praise-Pass-Past
 (Yamada was praised by the teacher and was positively affected by this)
 (Kuroda 1985, p. 74)

the notion of affectivity is already present in the embedded sentence (Shibatani 1997, p. 5) *Sensei-ga Yamada-o homeru* (The teacher praises Yamada). In such cases, affectivity in the *ni* passive sentence will have no additional semantic effects and becomes synonymous with the corresponding active sentence (and the *ni yotte* passive). In this study, I do not follow this position and maintain that actives and *ni* passives are different because they reflect different manners of conceptualisation of events. This point will be elaborated on in Section 3.

Kuroda's main aim is to provide semantic justifications for the syntactic analysis that distinguishes between the *ni* passive and the *ni yotte* passive²⁰, assuming a single syntactic underlying structure for *ni* (direct and indirect) passives. However, one of the most significant points in Kuroda's approach that is relevant to the present study is the rejection of the view that the IP (PP and Vi passive) encodes adversity. Adversity is 'another form in which the affectivity of the *ni* passive manifests itself' (Kuroda 1979, p. 335), rather than an independent concept associated with IPs. I

²⁰ Kuroda further argues that the *ni yotte* passive is essentially synonymous with the corresponding active sentence, from which it is derived via reordering transformation.

shall expand on Kuroda's proposal and demonstrate how the affectivity meaning of *ni* passives is constrained and specified by factors such as the context, discourse and knowledge of the world. Although pragmatic (as well as discoursal) factors tend to be put aside and hardly discussed in detail in most studies of Japanese passives, I believe that there is much to be explored in this area. Such an approach will reflect how *ni* passives are actually used in communication and this kind of information should be useful for learners. What follows therefore goes beyond a strictly syntactic approach, and an emphasis is given to semantic and pragmatic constraints from elements of passive sentences/utterances not limited to the basic/core passive constructions (particles and verb).

2-5-2. Criticisms of the notion of affectivity and its re-definition

Although Kuroda (1979) seems to be generally correct in his specification of *ni* passives, there are also problems with his approach, especially in the association of affectivity with the change of state that the (grammatical) subject undergoes as a result of the described event/state (Kuroda 1985, p. 71). Such a change does not necessarily occur in the subject in some cases. For instance, as Takami (1995) points out, in

- (27) *Taroo-wa Hanako-ni ais-are-te i-ru*
 Taro-Top Hanako-by love-Pass-Prog-Nonpast
 (Taro is loved by Hanako)

(p. 124, with modification)

Taro cannot be regarded as having been affected by the described fact (i.e., Hanako loves him) if he has not noticed this. This is clear from the acceptability of the addition of the clause ...*ga, sono koto ni kigatuite inai* (but has not noticed this) to (27). Thus, Takami's observation indicates that the possibility of the action depicted by the verb taking place without influencing or making an impact on the grammatical subject poses a question to the claim regarding the direct link between affectivity and change of state of the grammatical subject.

Teramura (1982, pp. 222-223), who also points out this problem, argues that the affective meaning in *ni* passives needs to be re-interpreted as 'receiving other's action', or specified as including this notion. Machida (2004, p. 398) correctly points

out that the interpretation of the adversity meaning is attributable to the conceptualizer (speaker) rather than the passive subject. What I would like to suggest on the basis of these observations is the following modified specification of *ni* passives with a human subject:

- (28) *Ni* passives with a human subject encode the information that the speaker has conceptualised the event as something in which the passive subject has received another's action (or mental process) and its effect, and has chosen to describe the event from the passive subject's point of view (based on Furukawa 2008, pp. 363-364).

Thus, if we accept that affectivity is what the conceptualiser (the speaker) encodes in his/her utterance, the issue of whether or not the passive subject has noticed the event, and received its effect depends on the nature of the action/state described by the verb and the situation in which the event occurred, and does not undermine the specification of *ni* passives as affective. In the sections and chapters to follow, I shall continue to refer to this modified interpretation of *ni* passives with a human subject in terms of affectivity, without the implication of resulting change of state of the passive subject described in Kuroda (1985), since the basic idea originates from Kuroda (1979). However, I shall use the terms such as 'affectivity', 'affective' and 'affected' in inverted commas to reflect the modification to their original meanings. The crucial points that can be applied in teaching are that *ni* passives can be characterised as **affective** and that they can be used for subjective descriptions of events from the point of view of the passive subject.

Another modification to Kuroda's position that I have made is specification of 'affectivity' as a meaning **explicitly** encoded by the *ni* passive form. Therefore, I avoid the term '**connotation** of affectivity' (p. 310, emphasis added), which Kuroda uses. This means that, whilst the **nature** of affectivity is determined in consideration of contextual and discoursal information and the knowledge of the world, as well as the encoded meaning of the utterance, the **notion** of 'affectivity' is inherent in the *ni* (*r*)*areru* form.

2-5-3. Traditional approaches vs. Kuroda's approach

In Section 2-3, I described the ways in which the semantic inconsistency observed in the classification of the DP, IP (and PP) may cause problems for learners. Kuroda's

approach, which adopts a uniform analysis of all instances of *ni* passives, avoids these problems because it is not based on such classification. Also, Kuroda's approach should be more effective especially for beginners since it allows for a description of all instances of *ni* passives, regardless of whether they are DPs, PPs or Vi passives, in terms of a single, core notion of 'affectivity', compared to an explanation in terms of multiple types of *ni* passives. Secondly, as the approach proposed here, which is not driven by purely syntactic analysis, does not require the ability to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs, which many textbooks seem to assume, it can be adopted in teaching those beginners who have problems in making such a distinction. Thirdly, this approach makes it possible to integrate semantic and pragmatic factors that constrain utterance interpretation/production. By not specifying the nature of 'affectivity' encoded by the *ni* passive form itself, factors such as the lexical meaning of the verb, other elements within the utterance, context, discourse and knowledge of the world can easily be drawn upon, whereas adopting, as many textbooks do, the 'neutral meaning' of DPs or the 'adversity meaning' of Vi passives and PPs can result in contradiction. I have argued that this makes it necessary to reduce the meaning of the *ni* passive form from **adversity** to the more neutral '**affectivity**'. This in turn has the advantage of accounting for pragmatic as well as semantic contributions to sentence/utterance meaning in actual communication. It is as a result of the *ni* passive form interacting with other factors that its meaning is determined and pragmatic factors sometimes play a crucial role, as we have seen.

It is possible to argue that PPs encode adversity unless the meaning of the verb is regarded as positive. However, if we adopt the notion of 'affectivity', the most natural and plausible interpretation of the positive 'affectivity' of examples like (14), for instance, can easily be explained, since this notion only regards the grammatical subject of *ni* passive sentences as having been '**affected**' but not necessarily adversely. There is no need to treat (14) as an exception.

Kuroda's approach has a further advantage because it is capable of taking into account the way utterances are processed on-line, which the traditional approaches seem to ignore. Since the passive morpheme (*r*)*are* is located after the verbal stem, as well as other elements of the utterance, the interpretation of the nature of the influence on the grammatical subject is influenced by these elements that are

accessed prior to the occurrence of *(r)are*. The *ni* passive form (particles and *(r)are*) itself has little more function than encoding 'affectivity' by the time the hearer accesses it, because the verbal stem and other elements that precede it will have geared the interpretation of the nature of influence to positive or negative (or anywhere in between). Thus, in processing (14), the hearer accesses *home* (to praise) **before** the passive morpheme *rare*. It is possible that the hearer is guided towards a positive interpretation by the element *home* (to praise) **before** reaching the passive morpheme, unless the context indicates otherwise. If the utterance contains *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past), the hearer is likely to be guided towards a negative interpretation, again **before** reaching the passive morpheme, given an appropriate context. In (14), what can complete the construction *Boku-wa* (I-Top) *kodomo-o* ((my) child-Acc) *sensei-ni* (teacher-by) *home-* (praise) is predicted to be the passive *rare-ta* (Pass-Past), the benefactive *te moratta* (received the favour of doing something) or the causative *sase-ta* (Caus-Past), all of which are likely to yield a positive effect²¹. The assignment of the adversity meaning is therefore quite unnecessary in any part of the interpretation of this utterance. Crucially, this view allows for the context in which the utterance is made, or the discourse, to be incorporated into the interpretation. Thus, if the hearer holds the information that the speaker was embarrassed by the praising, (14) is interpreted in that context and the positive interpretation that may otherwise be predicted from the lexical meaning of the verb is suppressed.

It seems to me that most of the studies of Japanese passives are concerned with describing passive sentences **as a whole or in isolation**, whether in terms of grammaticality, or syntactic underlying structures, or in terms of semantic characteristics displayed by different types of passives, without consideration of on-line processing that occurs as the speaker produces utterances or the hearer interprets them. Such considerations are potentially useful for learners in the process of learning in that they can guide them through the process of understanding utterances on-line as they hear them, and of creating utterances on-line.

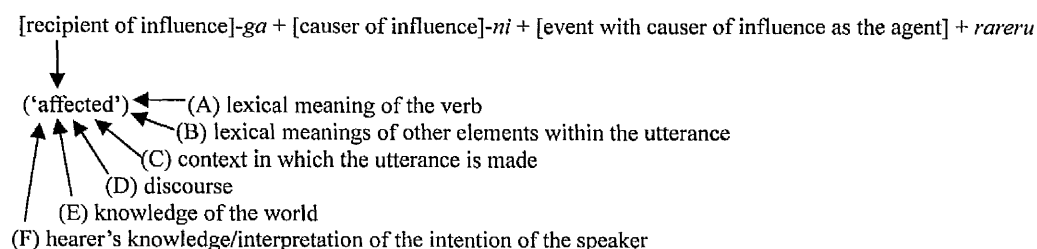
²¹ In contrast, in the case of *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), it is likely that the hearer is guided towards a negative interpretation (unless the context indicates otherwise) on hearing *sika*. This negative meaning is sustained in the case of the passive, and cancelled out to give rise to a positive meaning if it is followed by the benefactive *te moratta* (received a favour of doing something). The latter is possible when the speaker feels that having his/her child scolded by the teacher had some beneficial effect on him/her and/or the child, or when it conforms to an expectation or a previous request (see Pizziconi 2000).

On the basis of the observations made above, I believe that Kuroda's approach provides an effective tool for describing *ni* passives to learners without referring to the DP (vs. PP) vs. IP distinction. Also, it better captures the characteristics of Japanese *ni* passives as they are used in communication and the possible processes involved in the interpretation and production of these passives.

2-6. Constraints on the interpretation of *ni* passives: an elaboration on Kuroda's approach

As we have seen, the notion of 'affectivity', which is linguistically encoded by the *ni* passive form, should be interpreted as a general effect or influence that the speaker has conceptualised as having reached the grammatical subject as a result of the described event. This 'affectivity' is specified to produce positive to negative interpretation in varying degrees, by factors such as the lexical meaning of the verb, other elements within the utterance, the context in which the utterance is made, discourse and the knowledge of the world. The process of interpreting *ni* passives can be shown as in the following figure. The first line in the figure is based on Masuoka (1991, p. 201), with some modifications to the terminology ('influence' instead of 'benefit or harm' and 'causer' instead of 'giver'). I have also excluded *te morau* (to receive a favour of doing something) from his formula, because our focus is *ni* passives.

Figure 1. The process of interpreting a *ni* passive utterance



The following are examples of the situations in which factors (A) to (F) above constrain the interpretations of *ni* passive utterances. It should be noted that these factors do not operate in isolation but interact with one another.

- (A) The lexical meaning of *tatak-are-ru* (hit-Pass-Nonpast) normally specifies the nature of 'affectivity' as negative and *hime-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast) as positive;

- (B) Neutral verbs such as *iw-are-ru* (say/tell-Pass-Nonpast) can be positive or negative or anywhere in between, depending on the content of the message directed at the speaker. *Ni* passives with a negative comment such as *bakada to iwareru* (to be told 'You are stupid') normally specifies the nature of 'affectivity' as negative and *ryoori-ga umai to iwareru* (to be told 'You are a good cook') as positive;
- (C) The nature of 'affectivity' becomes negative with *home-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast) (see A above) if there is a context indicating that the passive subject was embarrassed by the praising;
- (D) The apparently neutral utterance such as *Ken-ni asita-wa Suiyoobi da to iwareta* (I was told by Ken that it is Wednesday tomorrow and was 'affected' by this)²² may be constrained by discourse in that the nature of 'affectivity' will subsequently be interpreted as positive if it is followed by *Mitakatta eiga-ga hazimaru hi da* (That's the day when the film I want to watch starts);
- (E) The nature of 'affectivity' can also be constrained by knowledge of the world that may be evoked by an element of the utterance other than the passive predicate, such as the agent. For instance, one is likely to be flattered more by receiving a compliment about one's skills in tennis from one's instructor than from a fellow student. In this case, the interpretation is constrained both by an element of the utterance and the knowledge of the world (knowledge of social hierarchy);
- (F) The nature of 'affectivity' also depends on the hearer's interpretation of the speaker intention. Thus, being called silly may give rise to a positive interpretation, if this comment is regarded as a friendly joke.

As will be clear from the discussion so far, the active and the *ni* passive encode different information, and they reflect different manners in which the speaker conceptualises an event (see the next section)²³. The position I take is against introducing *ni* DPs in terms of the promotion of the grammatical object of the active sentence to the grammatical subject of the *ni* passive sentence, and the demotion of the grammatical subject of the active sentence to the oblique case of the *ni* passive sentence, or in terms of how this is explained in classroom, by presenting an active sentence with an indication of how the arguments are moved around and the particles changed (obviously, this kind of explanation is provided to learners without using technical terms)²⁴. This can give an impression that the difference between the *ni* passive and the active is simply the viewpoint from which an event is described. In fact, this is not limited to DPs. As we shall see shortly, the speaker also uses the *ni*

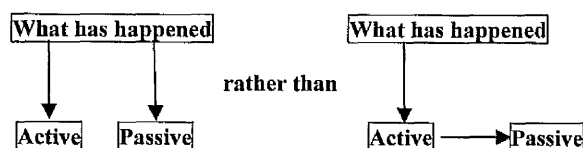
²² The speaker can be said to have been 'affected' neither negatively nor positively by Ken's statement if, for instance, this utterance was interpreted as a simple reminder that it is Wednesday tomorrow.

²³ The rejection of explaining the passive with reference to its corresponding active sentence is also stated by Ogawa & Ando (1999). See Chapter 3, Section 2-3.

²⁴ Indeed, a number of textbooks introduce passives in relation to active sentences in this fashion.

passive to achieve the communicative goal of describing an event as having 'affected' the passive subject, as well as from his/her/its point of view. Thus, in producing an utterance on-line, NSs select the *ni* passive, whether DP, PP or Vi passive, directly without recourse to the corresponding or related active sentence. If they intend to encode 'affectivity', whether it is positive or negative, or anywhere in between, they select the *ni* passive²⁵ without first creating the active sentence and then moving around the arguments and adjusting the particles. This should be taken into consideration when introducing *ni* passives in teaching materials and so on. Figure 2 illustrates the direct selection of the *ni* passive by NSs:

Figure 2. Direct selection of the *ni* passive by NSs



The last point relates to the issue of how the speaker conceptualises an occurred event. In the next section, I shall turn to this issue and the ways in which an event is linguistically encoded in Japanese and English.

3. Motivations for the use of *ni* passives: conceptualisation of an event and the communicative needs of the speaker

In the previous sections, I have discussed the meanings of *ni* passives in detail. However, one question remains unanswered. When and why do speakers select the *ni* passive rather than the active, or vice versa, given a certain situation? This choice reflects the manner in which the speaker cognitively conceptualises a given event. It also reflects how s/he chooses to present the event to the hearer, using or avoiding the use of the *ni* passive, in consideration of factors such as politeness and the need to encode one's intention for successful communication. In other words, the examination of the use of *ni* passives requires both cognitive and communicative considerations. In the following sections, I shall discuss these issues.

²⁵ I do not intend to say that the speaker is always conscious of his/her intention and selection.

3-1. Transitivity and the choice between the active and the *ni* passive

To begin, let us suppose a situation in which John breaks a window by throwing a stone at it. How do NSs of English and Japanese code this event in a linguistic form respectively? It is common to say 'John broke the window' in English and *John-ga mado-o wat-ta* (John-Nom window-Acc break-Past) in Japanese. The agent 'John' is the trajector (Langacker 1990, 1991) because it is the initiator of the action and attracts the attention of the speaker. The 'window' is the landmark that receives the action (see Section 3-2). These sentences reflect a natural flow of the energy emitted by the agent John over the patient window (via the implied instruments (hand and a stone)). Notably, it can also be interpreted as an intentional action²⁶ carried out by a human subject on an inanimate object window, which undergoes a change in its state.

Referring to work of Hopper (1985), Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Rice (1987 cited in Langacker 1991, p. 302), Langacker (1991, p. 302) points out the following properties characteristic of a prototypical transitive clause:

- (1) it has two participants expressed by overt nominals that function as subject and object;
- (2) it describes an event (as opposed to a static situation);
- (3) the event is energetic, relatively brief, and has a well-defined endpoint;
- (4) the subject and object represent discrete, highly individuated physical entities;
- (5) these entities already exist when the event occurs (i.e. they are not products of the event);
- (6) the subject and object are fully distinct and participate in a strongly asymmetrical relationship;
- (7) the subject's participation is volitional, while that of the object is non-volitional;
- (8) the subject is the source of the energy, and the object is its target;
- (9) the object is totally affected by the action.

Thus, 'John broke the window' and *John-ga mado-o watta* are canonical transitive clauses in that they both satisfy all the factors mentioned above. They reflect a typical manner of conceptualising the event in question in both languages.

As Hopper & Thompson (1980) argue, transitivity is a matter of degree. There are clauses that do not satisfy all the factors mentioned above and therefore encode lower transitivity. In Japanese, transitive constructions generally take the form of N-*ga* (Nom) N-*o* (Acc) V-*suru* (do/does), in which the subject takes the nominative *ga* and the object the accusative *o* in unmarked cases (Yamanashi 1995, p. 239). However, not all clauses with this structure have the same level of transitivity. Thus,

²⁶ It is also possible to interpret John's action as unintentional if this event occurred accidentally.

a lower level of transitivity is observed in *A-ga B-o sikatta* (A scolded B) in that there is no physical movement or change incurred in B.

What concerns us in this study is the choice between the active and the *ni* passive where such a choice is available to the speaker. For instance, in a situation in which Tim hits the speaker, both the active 'Tim hit me' and the passive 'I was hit by Tim' are possible in English. In both cases, it is the subject ('Tim' in the former and 'I' in the latter) that is more prominent, and the choice between the two partly depends on how the speaker has conceptualised the occurred event. As I argue below, in the case of the Japanese *ni* passive, this choice reflects not only a different manner of event conceptualisation to the active, but also the speaker's communicative need to encode that s/he was emotionally **influenced** or '**affected**' by the event.

Where the choice between the active and the *ni* passive is available as in *tataku* (to hit), there may often be a tendency to select one form over the other in a given context. This may be reflected in English speakers' preference for the active and Japanese speakers' tendency to use the *ni* passive for this verb²⁷, resulting from different manners of conceptualising the same event. In the next section, I shall explain how actives and *ni* passives differ in terms of event conceptualisation (and encoded meanings), despite the claim described earlier that DPs are semantically synonymous with their active counterparts.

3-2. Conceptualisation of an event and cognitive models for actives and *ni* passives

In analysing sentences in the *(r)areru* form, Onoe (2003) points out that in a description of an action, it is natural to treat the agent, which performs an intentional action, as the subject of the sentence²⁸. Despite this, speakers sometimes describe an event with a viewpoint set on an argument other than the agent (p. 37). The *ni* passive is used when the speaker chooses not to describe an event as an action of the agent (that causes a change of the state in the patient or totally affects it in a prototypically transitive construction), but as something that occurred **as a whole** to

²⁷ Supporting evidence will be seen in Chapter 5 in the results of the experiments: eight out of ten NSs of Japanese used the *ni* passive in Japanese, and all of the fifteen English NSs or bilinguals used the active in English.

²⁸ Teramura (1982, p. 205) also makes a similar observation. Shibatani (2000, p. 124) states that where an event involves an agent and a patient, the active, in which the former is coded as the subject and the latter as the object, is an unmarked choice. This is reflected in the high frequency of active constructions.

the subject, which is the location of the occurrence of the event (Onoe 1998). Onoe (1998-1999, 2003) refers to sentences that reflect the speaker's holistic conceptualisation of an event/state that has occurred in the location (the subject) as 'syuttaibun' (which means 'sentences of occurrence'), and associates Japanese *ni* passives with other sentences in the (*r*)*areru* form (see Onoe (1998-1999, 2003) for more discussion of 'syuttaibun').

An example might help to clarify this point. In *Kodomo-ga okaasan-ni sikarareta* (The child was scolded by the mother and was negatively 'affected' by this), the speaker chose not to express the event analytically as a transfer of an energy in the form of an action taken by the mother as the trajector over the child as the landmark (Figure 3); s/he has chosen to describe it as an event that has taken place 'in the child', as an unanalysed whole *okaasan-ga kodomo-o sikatta koto* (that the mother scolded the child).

Oka (2002) takes a slightly different position and points out that this passive sentence²⁹ is better characterised as reflecting conceptualisation of an event as occurring in the dominion (Langacker 1991, 1993) created by the reference point of the child, rather than in the child conceptualised as a location. What this means is as follows. The conceptualizer (speaker) describes the event from the child's viewpoint by using the child as a reference point. This reference point is used by the conceptualizer to establish mental contact with the target (Langacker 1993, pp. 5-6), which is the incident of the mother scolding the child. The reference point (child) has a dominion, which Langacker defines as 'the conceptual region (or the set of entities) to which a particular reference point affords direct access (i.e., the class of potential targets)' (p. 6). The dominion includes the incident of the mother scolding the child in that the child has direct access to this incident. This approach explains the relationship between the child (the reference point) and the occurred event (target) clearly, on the basis of Onoe's (1998-1999, 2003) notion of 'syuttaibun'.

The patient child is described by the speaker as having received influence or being 'affected' by the event conceptualised in this manner in the *ni* passive construction. Crucially, the 'event as a whole'³⁰ or the target, includes all the factors affecting the

²⁹ Oka (2002, p. 122) uses the example '*Nezumi-wa neko-ni taberareta* (The mouse was eaten by a cat)'. I have adjusted the discussion and the figure to suit my own example.

³⁰ What I mean by 'as a whole' is the manner in which the event is conceptualised by the speaker. This happens prior to on-line production of the utterance mentioned in Section 2-5-3.

interpretation of *ni* passives described in Section 2-6; that is, the lexical meaning of the verb, other elements within the utterance, context, discourse and knowledge of the world³¹. Therefore the ‘affectivity’ meaning intended by the speaker may refer to the child’s grievance in a context in which s/he knows that the child got upset about having been scolded, and a weaker feeling if s/he has a reason to believe that the child did not care too much about this event, for instance.

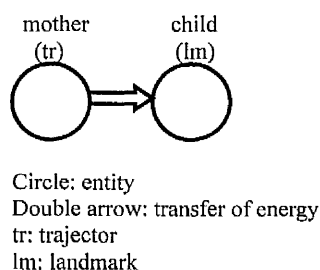
The active differs from the *ni* passive in that the action of scolding that the mother took may not have necessarily caused a change in the physical or psychological (feeling upset) state of the child, given the lower transitivity of the verb *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), compared to verbs like *waru/kowasu* (to break).

Figures 3 and 4 show the differences between the active (Figure 3) and the DP (Figure 4) as discussed above³²:

Figure 3. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with *sikaru*)

Japanese: *Okaasan-ga kodomo-o sikatta*. (The mother scolded the child.)

English: The mother scolded the child.

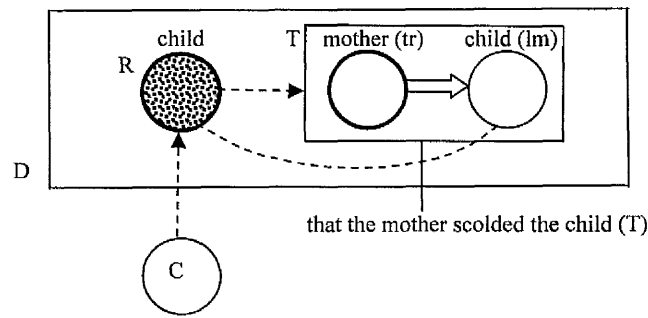


³¹ Thus, the description of *ni* passives in terms of ‘the event as a whole’ captures the point I have made about the necessity to consider all these factors in the description of *ni* passives.

³² DPs are analysed in the same manner as the English passive in terms of the action chain by Koguma (2004), for instance. The difference between the active and the DP in their analyses is that in the former the agent is conceptualised as the trajector, and the mover or the patient as the landmark; in the latter the mover or the patient is conceptualised as the trajector, and the agent as the landmark. In this study, I propose a uniform analysis of DPs, PPs and Vi passives and argue that the difference between the active and the DP is not merely a matter of which element (agent or patient) is prominent. As we shall see below, the speaker’s communicative needs are also reflected in the choice of the *ni* passive, whether DP, PP or Vi passive. An analysis of both passives as expressions of events as having occurred to and ‘affected’ the subject of the *ni* passive utterance better captures such motivation.

Figure 4. Cognitive model of the DP (with *sikarareru*)

Kodomo-ga okaasan-ni sikarareta. (The child was scolded by the mother and was negatively 'affected' by this.)



R: reference point

T: target

D: dominion

C: conceptualizer

Dotted arrow: mental path followed by the conceptualizer in reaching the target

Dotted line: identical entity

Spotted circle: 'affected' entity

As the figures show, the patient child (in the target domain in Figure 4) receives energy from the agent in both the active and the *ni* passive. What characterises the *ni* passive is that the event 'that the mother scolded the child' is captured **as a whole** and as the target, which is accessed via the reference point of the child in the form of a mental contact, from outside the target domain itself. Being a '*syuttaibun*' (a sentence of occurrence), the event **as a whole** is captured as having occurred in the dominion created by the reference point. This reference point, which is the same entity as the patient, receives psychological influence that manifests itself in the form of emotional 'affectivity', which is qualitatively different from the physical energy received from the agent in the target domain and in the active sentence. Thus, the figure captures the different types of effects on the patient, the physical energy (shown as a double arrow) and emotional 'affectivity' (shown as spots within the entity). As we have seen, the latter is not part of the encoded meaning in the active (and it is possible that the child did not care about having been scolded). This difference cannot be captured in an analysis in which the difference between the active and the DP is explained in terms of the different assignments of the trajector and the landmark (see footnote 32). One thing that should be noted regarding a reference point is that reception of 'affectivity' as described here is by no means its general characteristic. It is encoded by the *ni* passive as I have discussed. A reference point is also typically used in possessives such as 'John's car', in which

the conceptualizer accesses the nominal 'car' via the reference point 'John'. There is no meaning of 'affectivity' here.

Onoe (1999) further specifies the meaning of *ni* passives as reflecting the conceptualisation of an event as the subject 'having been placed in a certain position regardless of his/her/its own will, as a result of another's action or change (typically the execution of another's intention and his/her emission of energy)' (p. 88, my translation)³³. Since it is not the case that the subject chose to get into such a situation/position by his/her own will, s/he is more likely to feel the consequence that appears in the form of negative influence and this explains cases in which the meanings of *ni* passives are oriented towards adversity³⁴. However, it is also possible, if not equally common, that such unexpectedness results in positive influence or 'affectivity', and specification of the meaning of *ni* passives as 'affective' rather than 'adversative' allows for consideration of such cases. If this is indeed the case, it can be suggested that when the subject is regarded as having been placed into a certain position and having been influenced or 'affected' by the event, the *ni* passive is most likely to be an appropriate expression. As we shall see in Chapter 5, Section 3, this was largely supported by the data I obtained from the NSs.

The above analysis can also be applied to cases where the first person singular (I) is the subject of the sentence, in which case, 'child' in Figures 3 and 4 should be replaced by 'I' and the conceptualizer is also equated with the same entity as 'I'. It can also explain other *ni* passives, that is, PPs and Vi passives. Where relevant, positive 'affectivity' can be reflected, since the nature of 'affectivity' is not specified as negative in this model. Let us carry on with PPs.

In the active ?*Dareka-ga watasi-no asi-o hunda* (Someone stepped on my foot), the speaker describes the event as a transfer of energy from the agent (someone) to the patient (my foot), with 'someone' as the trajector and 'foot' as the landmark in Figure 3. This event may or may not have caused a change in the state of the patient (such as a red mark on his/her foot). Note that this incident is not conceptualised via the reference point 'I'. 'I' is not coded separately and it only appears indirectly in its genitive form *watasi-no* (my). This means that the speaker did not describe the event

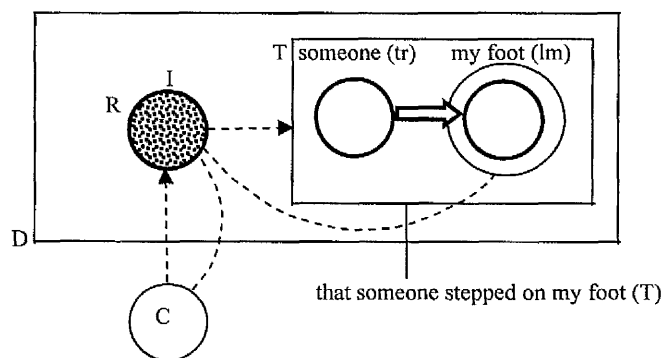
³³ The description of *ni* passives as encoding *hieikyō* (reception of influence) (Onoe 1999, p. 89) is in line with Kuroda's (1979) notion of 'affectivity'.

³⁴ See also Section 2-2 for an explanation of the negative bias of *ni* passives in terms of the unintentional nature of the occurrence of an event.

as something that had happened to him/her **as a whole**; it is only a part of his/her body that is referred to. In the PP *Watasi-wa dareka-ni asi-o humareta* (I had my foot stepped on by someone and was negatively ‘affected’ by this), the picture is rather different, as Figure 5 shows:

Figure 5.³⁵ Cognitive model of the PP (with *asi-o humareru*)

Watasi-wa dareka-ni asi-o humareta. (I had my foot stepped on by someone and was negatively ‘affected’ by this.)



Large circle around ‘my foot’ in the target domain (T): implicit possessor

The incident of someone stepping on the speaker’s foot, captured **as a whole** and as a target, is accessed via the reference point of ‘I’, which is absent in the active sentence above. Such a cognitive process is appropriate because the speaker conceptualised the event as something s/he had experienced, rather than something that the agent did to his/her foot. The possessor ‘I’, used as a reference point, has a mental contact with the target, which contains the process ‘that someone stepped on my foot’ and receives negative ‘affectivity’ encoded by the *ni* passive form and specified by the available semantic and pragmatic information.

As Figure 5 shows, the action chain of the emission of energy from the agent (someone) to the patient (my foot) exists separately from the reference point (I) and **as a whole** (that someone stepped on my foot). The reference point is by definition an external element posited outside the target domain (the incident conceptualised **as a whole**) without being directly involved in the action chain in the target domain. This means that it does not directly receive the energy from the agent and this reflects the oddity of **Watasi-wa dareka-ni humareta* (*I was stepped on by

³⁵ I have adopted Koguma’s (2004) model for PPs (but not DPs), with minor modifications, essentially in the layout of the figure, partly in the interest of consistency with the other figures.

someone and was negatively 'affected' by this).

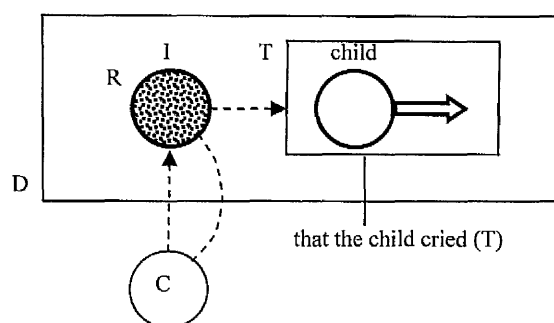
What is interesting about this passive, as opposed to the active, is the existence of the reference point, which reflects the speaker's conceptualisation of this event as something that s/he experienced and was 'affected' by (which is encoded by the *ni* passive). In Japanese, the active is inappropriate as a description of this event, and indeed, no Japanese NSs used the active in my experiments (see Chapter 5, Section 3). Given that this incident is of high concern to the speaker 'I', the speaker is the most prominent entity and is conceptualised as such. That is, since the incident is of annoying nature and has had a psychological impact on the speaker, s/he is likely to choose to express the negative psychological 'affectivity' on his/her part and use the *ni* passive (see the next section). The DP ?*Watasi-no asi-ga dareka-ni humareta* (?My foot was stepped on by someone and was negatively 'affected' by this) is also ruled out in Japanese, and again the occurrence of this construction was 0% in my experiments with the NSs. This is because it is less natural in Japanese to access the target via the foot as the reference point and refer to it as having been 'affected', when there is a more important participant, the possessor, who was also 'affected'. Also, 'I' is more animate than 'foot' in the animacy hierarchy, in which the first pronoun 'I' is predicted to be the highest in animacy (e.g., Comrie 1981/1989), and Kuno's (e.g., 1978) Empathy Hierarchy also predicts the first person pronoun to be the most likely entity that the speaker empathises with and conceptualises as the grammatical subject. Therefore, 'I', which is a highly animate and sentient entity, is more likely to be the subject in the above PP in Japanese than 'foot', which is in itself not sentient. The nature of influence differs in the foot and its possessor, that is, it is physical in the former and psychological in the latter. Putting the former in the subject position of the *ni* passive can even make it sound as if the foot had been emotionally 'affected' by the event. This does not mean that the conceptualisation of this event as something that happened to the speaker's foot is cognitively impossible and not coded in any languages. In fact the DP is also possible in English and common in Chinese, for instance. In Japanese, however, priority is given in the selection of the subject to the sentient possessor of the patient that has received the action directly. Where the speaker intends to express emotional 'affectivity', the availability of the structure in Japanese that encodes this information motivates him/her to exploit its use.

The above analysis of PPs can be applied to other utterances such as *Watasi-wa sensei-ni kodomo-o sikarareta/homerareta* (I had my child scolded/praised by the teacher and was negatively/positively ‘affected’ by this). The positive nature of ‘affectivity’ can be incorporated into the model, since, as we have seen above, the ‘affectivity’ meaning is not specified as adversative.

In the Vi passive such as *Watasi-wa kodomo-ni nakareta* (I had a/my child cry and was negatively ‘affected’ by this), *watasi* (I) is used as a reference point to access the incident of the child crying (see Figure 6). The child’s crying is an incident that occurred independently of the speaker ‘I’. However, s/he describes this incident as having ‘affected’ him/her, by using a construction that presents the event as something that s/he had a mental contact with.

Figure 6. Cognitive model of the Vi passive (with *nakareru*)

Watasi-wa kodomo-ni nakareta. (I had a/my child cry and was negatively ‘affected’ by this.)



As we have seen, in all *ni* passives with a human subject the subject is described as having been placed in a certain position and having been ‘affected’ by the event (or the change that the agent underwent) conceptualised **as a whole**. Thus, the subject exists separately from the action chain of the event itself as an external element and engages in a cognitive activity (or has a mental contact with the event in the target), feeling the influence brought upon him/her.

One question remains as to how the figures for the DP, PP and Vi passive presented above are related to one another. It is worth noting that these figures form a continuum in terms of the level of involvement that the subject of the *ni* passive utterance (or the reference point) has with the event in the target³⁶. In the DP the

³⁶ Machida (2004) makes a similar point with respect to various PP sentences and the Vi passive, although his cognitive models for PPs are somewhat different from the ones I have proposed here. With the PP with a body

passive subject is wholly involved. In the PP, it is part of his/her body or his/her possession etc that directly receives energy from the agent. In the Vi passive the passive subject does not appear in the target at all. As we have seen in Section 2-2, the different level of involvement that the passive subject has with the occurred event is related to the level of the adversity meaning obtained (Kuno 1983). The cognitive models proposed here are therefore compatible with Kuno's and Shibatani's (1997, 2000) analyses. They also reflect the qualitatively different nature of influence in the patient in the action chain and the reference point set outside the action chain, with the former being physical and the latter psychological.

Having examined cognitive differences between actives and DPs, PPs and Vi passives, let us now turn to the issue of how speakers use *ni* passives for successful communication.

3-3. Communicative motivation in the use or non-use of *ni* passives

In the *ni* passive, in which the subject is described as having been placed into a certain position and 'affected' by the action taken by the agent or the occurred change, the agent is regarded as having brought about such an influence³⁷. Onoe (1999, p. 93) states that in the passive, the speaker attributes responsibility for influencing the subject to the agent (changed entity) even when the action (change) is not intentional. He further states that where this is not the case, *ni* passives are not used. Thus, by selecting the *ni* passive, the speaker can communicate one or more of the following implications in a description of an event involving himself/herself, regardless of whether or not an explicit mention is made of the agent:

- (1) I was placed in a certain position regardless of my own will;
- (2) I was influenced ('affected') as a result of (1);

part, such as

Sono samurai-ga teki-ni ude-o ki-rare-ta
 that samurai-Nom enemy-by arm-Acc slash-Pass-Past
 (That samurai had his arm slashed by his enemy and was negatively 'affected' by this)

(p. 394),

he considers the *o*-marked NP, rather than the event as a whole, to be the target and maintains that the *ga*-marked NP and the *o*-marked NP equally share the energy from the *ni*-marked NP. The present study characterises all *ni* passives as 'syuttaibun' as described above, in which the *ga*-marked NP has a mental contact with the occurred event as a whole (the target).

³⁷ This is also true of utterances in which the agent is not stated, as in *Watasi-wa sikarareta* (I was scolded and was negatively 'affected' by this). In this utterance, the speaker describes himself/herself as having been 'affected' or influenced by the scolding, even though s/he did not indicate the identity of the agent.

- (3) (Related to 1), the influence was caused by an external force, whether identified or not, which is responsible for it.

Since, given a relevant context (and by no means in all cases), these can mean 'It was not my choice' (No. 1 above), 'I am a victim (in negative 'affectivity')' (No. 2) and 'It was not my fault (in negative 'affectivity')' (No. 3), the use of the *ni* passive may best be avoided where the speaker does not wish to convey these implications for reasons such as politeness. Thus, if the speaker is telling a woman about his/her camera that her husband has lost, it is likely to sound impolite to say *Gosyuzin-ni kamera-o nakusareta* (I had my camera lost by your husband and was negatively 'affected' by this), unless the speaker knows the woman very well. Such an utterance, in which the use of the *ni* passive can indicate the speakers' feeling that takes the form of annoyance in this particular situation, can be interpreted as expressing the speaker's intention to attribute responsibility directly to the woman's husband, and thus can be regarded as impolite.

In the acquisition/learning of Japanese as a second/foreign language, learners need to be able to assess the situation and avoid the use of *ni* passives when, for reasons of politeness, for instance, they do not intend to express that they have been 'affected'. Possible communication failure or unnaturalness caused by Chinese speakers' use or overuse of *ni* passives has been pointed out by Koo & Hsu (1980), Tanaka (1999e) and Watanabe (1995).

I argue that it is not only avoidance of the use of *ni* passives for politeness and other reasons that is crucial in learning; it is also important to use *ni* passives when the speaker intends, or feels it necessary, to communicate one or more of the meanings mentioned above (see also Kikuchi 2007, for instance). Thus, if the speaker has been scolded by his/her teacher for having forgotten to submit his/her homework, and s/he decides to tell his/her personal tutor about this event, the use of the *ni* passive is more appropriate. The use of the active *A-sensei-ga watasi-o sikatta* (Teacher A scolded me) for this situation may give an impression that there was no influence on the part of the speaker as a result of this rather serious event, that is, s/he did not care about having been scolded. In certain contexts, this statement may be even taken as blaming the teacher, with an implication that there was no reason why the speaker should have been scolded. His/her personal tutor may get angry about the lack of regret on the part of his/her tutee (and the speaker may end up

getting scolded by his/her personal tutor as well). If giving the impression that s/he was not 'affected' by the event was not the speaker's intention, a communication failure is likely to occur. The use of the *ni* passive encodes the information that the speaker was 'affected' (implication No. 2 above) and given the situation, this 'affectivity' is most likely to be of a negative nature. In this case, the implication that it was not the speaker's choice (No. 1) and that it was caused by an external force (No. 3) are also encoded, although they are not as fundamental as implication No 2, and may therefore not be the main motivation for the selection of the *ni* passive. These factors are appropriate in that the speaker has presented the event as something that has forced him/her into a certain position (that of having been scolded for the neglect of work) (No 1), and the influence (the emotional 'affectivity' that is most likely to be negative) was caused by the outside force, the teacher (No 3). After all, the speaker did not choose to get into the position of getting scolded and the scolding was initiated by the teacher, rather than intentionally triggered by the speaker.

Earlier, I quoted Onoe (2003, p. 37) and mentioned that the speaker sometimes describes an event with a viewpoint set on an argument other than the agent. Given the prominence of this viewpoint, where the speaker himself/herself was involved with the event and intends to communicate that s/he was emotionally 'affected' by it, it is more natural to use the *ni* passive, with the 'affected' entity (the speaker) in the subject position³⁸. It is the speaker's own experience in which s/he was influenced ('affected') by another's action (change). However, even then, the speaker can conceptualise the event in different ways and the choice may be available between the active and the *ni* passive, as in the case of the student having been scolded by the teacher. As we have seen, the choice of the *ni* passive is motivated if there is a need to communicate that the speaker was placed into a certain position without his/her own will, by an external source, and/or was 'affected' by the event. Thus, it can be said that viewpoint is not the only factor motivating the choice of *ni* passives.

To conclude this section, in English the conceptualisation of an action like hitting as a transitive event, in which the speaker describes the energy flow from the agent to the patient, is a determining factor in the selection of the active construction as the unmarked utterance type. In contrast, to describe the same situation in Japanese,

³⁸ This was generally supported by my data obtained from NSs (see Chapter 5, Section 3).

whose *ni* passive has the function of encoding 'affectivity', the speaker takes advantage of the availability of this construction and uses it in describing an event that has the implications (1) to (3) listed above. This explains why the transitive construction 'Tim hit me' is the typical manner of describing the event in English and *Watasi-wa Tim-ni tatakareta* (I was hit by Tim and was negatively 'affected' by this) is preferred in Japanese. As we have seen, not only cognitive factors (the holistic conceptualisation of an occurred event) but also qualitatively different communicative needs (such as politeness and the need to convey the speaker's 'affective' meaning as defined in Section 2-5-2) motivate the choice of the *ni* passive. The same principles are in operation with any other verb regardless of whether they are DPs, PPs or Vi passives.

Having argued for the importance of encoding 'affectivity' by using *ni* passives, let us turn to the issue of encoding affective stances in Japanese by associating *ni* passives with some of the other constructions that also encode feelings.

4. Encoding affective stances in Japanese

4-1. Affective stance and its manifestations in *ni* passives, *te simau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives

My main points in this chapter have been that *ni* passives linguistically encode the notion of 'affectivity' and NSs use *ni* passives strategically to achieve certain effects in communication. In fact, *ni* passives are not the only linguistic constructions that encode one's feelings and affective stance. My aim in this section is to examine *ni* passives in relation to two other linguistic devices that encode feelings/attitudes of the speaker, *te simau*, which is said to encode regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality) and benefactives, which encode gratitude³⁹, under the notion of 'affect'. The effects of associating these three types of constructions in teaching were tested in my experiments and the results will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Yoshikawa (1973, p. 228) points out five meanings of *te simau*, namely, (1) An action (that has a process) is taken to the end; (2) An actor works on something to get it done; (3) Something has been done and as a result the current situation cannot be changed; (4) An action is taken unintentionally and (5) Something inconvenient

³⁹ See footnote 14.

and/or unexpected is done. It should be noted that in this study, I shall concentrate on regret and misfortune (which are subsumed in No. 3), unintentionality (No. 4) and inconvenience (No. 5) where relevant, and ignore other meanings listed above. This is because these are the meanings that relate to the speaker's feelings/attitudes and are taught at the beginners' level⁴⁰. It should be noted that in some cases, ambiguity arises as to which meaning of *te simau* is intended by the speaker, and sometimes more than one meaning is encoded, as in the following example:

- (29) *Tomodati-ga watasi-no kamera-o otosi-te simat-ta*
 friend-Nom my camera-Acc drop-regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/
 unintentionally-Past
 (Regrettably and/or unfortunately and/or inconveniently and/or unintentionally my
 friend dropped my camera).

In the above example, a sense of regret/misfortune is attributed to the speaker, and unintentionality to the agent.

Consideration of the three constructions, that is, *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives prompts further elaboration of 'affect' from both linguistic and situational points of view. It is not controversial that people use language as one of the means of expressing their feelings and attitudes. Caffi & Janney (1994) state that competent NSs possess an 'emotive capacity', or 'certain basic, conventional, learned, affective-relational communicative skills that help them interact smoothly, negotiate potential interpersonal conflicts, and reach different ends in speech' (p. 327). These affective-relational communicative skills are related to performances of linguistic and non-linguistic activities that can be interpreted broadly as 'signs of affect', which are 'indices of speakers' feelings, attitudes, or relational orientations toward their topics, their partners, and/or their own acts of communication in different situations' (p. 327).

It is reasonable at this point to clarify what is meant by 'situation'. Ochs (1996) states:

In the social sciences "situation" is usually broadly conceived and includes socio-cultural dimensions a member activates to be part of the situation at hand such as the *temporal and spatial locus* of the communicative situation, the *social identities* of participants, the *social acts* and *activities* taking place, and participants' *affective and epistemic stance*. (p.

⁴⁰ See Moriya (1994) for a review of previous studies of *te simau*.

Ochs further defines the notion of 'affective stance' as follows:

(A)ffective stance refers to a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, Labov 1984, Levy 1984). (Ochs 1996, p. 410, emphases in the original)

As Ochs points out, affective stance is encoded (or indexed) across languages in diminutives, verb voice, sentential adverbs and so on.

Japanese also has various constructions to encode affective stances. *Ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives are amongst such constructions. In order to demonstrate this, let us compare Examples (30) to (34), which contain the element 'It has rained'.

(Looking at damp grass)

(30) *Ame-ga hut-ta.*
rain-Nom fall-Past
(It has rained.)

(31) *Ame-ga hut-te simat-ta*⁴¹.
rain-Nom fall-regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently-Past
(Regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently, it has rained.)

(32) *Ame-ni hur-are-ta.*
rain-by fall-Pass-Past
(It has rained and I was negatively 'affected' by this.)

(33) *Ame-ni hur-are-te simat-ta.*
rain-by fall-Pass-regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently-Past
(Regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently, it has rained and I was negatively 'affected' by this.)

(34) *Ame-ga hut-te kure-ta*⁴².
rain-Nom fall-Ben: 'give' a favour/do a favour-Past
(It has rained and this worked favourably to me.)

I follow Kamio (1994) and call the part of the proposition that excludes modal

⁴¹ In this study, I shall treat *te simau* and its conversational/informal variant *tyau* equally. This will not affect my argument. In other words, what I write about *te simau* in this section will also apply to *tyau*. Also, I have translated the auxiliary *te simau* as if it were an adverb, just to capture the meaning of this form.

⁴² This utterance sounds like a case of personification, as if the rain had its own will to fall. Still, the use of the benefactive *te kureru* (to 'give' a favour of/do a favour by doing something) is possible and one can say '*Ame-ga hutte kureta okagede niwa-no hana-ni mizu-o yarazuni sunda* (Thanks to rain, I didn't have to water the flowers in the garden)'.

elements the 'information'. This 'information' is accompanied by various forms that encode different feelings and attitudes of the speaker, that is, (31) with a sense of regret/misfortune/inconvenience and (32) with negative 'affectivity' in the most plausible interpretation. (33) is a combination of (31) and (32), and the negative 'affectivity' encoded by the *ni* passive may be mitigated by the *te simau* form, in that the speaker attributes the event to misfortune etc. (34) can be used when the fact that it had rained turned out to be convenient as when the speaker is a farmer desperately waiting for rainfall.

As demonstrated above, the same 'information' can be presented with various affective stances by using appropriate linguistic forms. From the speaker's point of view, s/he selects an appropriate form amongst his/her repertoire that reflects his/her feelings and attitude towards the 'information', as well as his/her intention as to whether or not to express them. This means that the availability of a range of linguistic forms makes it possible for the speaker to encode various types of feelings and attitudes that s/he may wish to express.

4-2. Devices for an analysis of emotive communication and functions of *ni* passives, *te simau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives

I shall now turn to a theoretical framework for the description of Japanese *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives by referring to Caffi & Janney's (1994) six broad ranges of devices for an analysis of emotive communication, which are seen from a pragmatic point of view. The following are quoted from the above study:

A. Evaluation devices [central distinction: positive/negative]

'This category potentially includes all types of verbal and nonverbal choices that suggest an inferrable [*sic*] positive or negative evaluative stance on the part of the speaker with respect to a topic, part of a topic, a partner, or partners in discourse' (p. 354);

B. Proximity devices [central distinction: near/far]

'This category potentially includes all types of verbal and nonverbal choices that vary metaphorical 'distances' between speakers and topics, topics and partners, and/or speakers and partners in discourse space or time (cf. Levinson, 1983: 54ff.) ...' (Caffi & Janney 1994, p. 356);

Caffi & Janney provide four main categories of proximity phenomena:

- (1) *spatial proximity markers*
- (2) *temporal proximity markers*
- (3) *social proximity markers*
- (4) *selective order proximity markers*

Among these we may note here that Caffi & Janney provide as examples of (4) *selective order proximity markers* 'order of reference', 'foregrounding', 'topicalization', 'given vs. new information', 'left/right dislocation', and so on, and state that these 'regulate distances between concepts in discourse' (p. 356). Included here are 'agent status versus object status (**Steffi** beat Martina vs. **Martina** lost to Steffi)' and 'active versus passive constructions' (p. 356, emphasis in the original).

C. Specificity devices [central distinction: clear/vague]

'This category potentially includes all choices of words, parts of speech, word organization patterns, conversational techniques, and/or discourse strategies that vary the inferred particularity, clarity, or 'pointedness' of references to topics, parts of topics, the speaker's self, or partners in discourse. It also includes choices that focus more narrowly or broadly on referents' (pp. 356-357);

D. Evidentiality devices [central distinction: confident/doubtful]

'This category potentially includes all choices that regulate the inferable [*sic*] reliability, correctness, authority, validity, or truth value of what is expressed (cf. Chafe and Nichols, 1986)' (Caffi & Janney 1994, p. 357);

E. Volitionality devices [central distinction: self-assertive/unassertive]

'This category potentially includes all speech choices, sentence framing techniques, and discourse strategies used to vary levels of inferred self-identification or self-assertiveness vis-à-vis partners, and all choices used to cast selves or partners in active versus passive discourse roles' (p. 357).

Caffi & Janney include the active vs. passive voice opposition '**I/it was** decided that we won't go' (p. 358, emphasis in the original)⁴³ in Category E.

F. Quantity devices [central distinction: more/less]

'This category potentially includes all intensifying and deintensifying speech choices (cf. Labov, 1984): that is, all choices of quantity, degree, measure, duration, or amount of a given speech phenomenon' (Caffi & Janney 1994, p. 358).

Following the above framework, the functions of passives, *te simau* and

⁴³ This active vs. passive opposition seems to have two other sets of equivalents in Japanese: ... *suru koto ni suru* (I decide to do...) vs. ... *suru koto ni naru* (It has been decided that I do...) and transitive verb vs. intransitive verb (as in *kimeru* (Vt: to decide) vs. *kimaru* (Vi: to be/become decided)). *Suru koto ni suru* and the transitive verb involve volition whereas *suru koto ni naru* and the intransitive verb place volition in the background.

benefactives can be categorised as shown below:

Table 1. Functions of passives, *te simau* and benefactives in terms of Caffi & Janney's (1994) devices for an analysis of emotive communication

Construction	Category
<i>Ni</i> passives	<p>Function of encoding 'affectivity' as an <i>evaluation device</i> (A)</p> <p>DP: <i>Haha-ni sikar-are-ta.</i> mother-by scold-Pass-Past (I was scolded by my mother and was negatively 'affected' by this.)</p> <p>PP: <i>Inu-ni te-o kam-are-ta.</i> dog-by hand-Acc bite-Pass-Past (I had my hand bitten by a dog and was negatively 'affected' by this.)</p> <p>Vi passive: <i>Ame-ni hur-are-ta.</i> rain-by fall-Pass-Past (It rained and I was negatively 'affected' by this.)</p> <p>Deictic function as a <i>selective order proximity marker</i> of a <i>proximity device</i> (B-4)</p> <p>Function of demoting the agent as a <i>volitionality device</i> (E)</p>
<i>Te simau</i>	<p>Function of encoding regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality) as an <i>evaluation device</i> (A)</p> <p><i>Tegami-o dasi-wasure-te simat-ta.</i> letter-Acc forget to send-regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/ unintentionally-Past (Regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally, I forgot to send the letter.)</p>
<i>Benefactives</i>	<p>Function of encoding gratitude as an <i>evaluation device</i> (A)</p> <p><i>Tomodati-ga hon-o okut-te kure-ta.</i> friend-Nom book-Acc send-Ben: 'give' a favour/do a favour-Past (A friend 'gave' me a favour of/did me a favour by sending a book. / A friend sent a book for me.)</p> <p><i>Tomodati-ni hon-o okut-te morat-ta.</i> friend-Dat book-Acc send-Ben: receive a favour-Past (I received a friend's favour of sending a book for me. / I got a friend to send a book for me.)</p> <p>Deictic function as a <i>selective order proximity marker</i> of a <i>proximity device</i> (B-4)</p>

As the table shows, various functions of passives can be explained as different devices that the speaker can make use of in communication. Their function of encoding 'affectivity' belongs to *evaluation devices* (A), together with the *te simau* construction, which encodes regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality) and benefactives, which encode gratitude. The deictic nature (or the issue of viewpoint) of the passive, as well as benefactives, is captured by their characterisation as *selective order proximity markers* of *proximity devices* (B-4). Passives are also used when the speaker chooses to avoid mentioning the agent for

politeness and other reasons⁴⁴ and this function is captured by the category *volitionality devices* (E).

In the discussion in Section 3-3 above, I have claimed that viewpoint is not the only motivation for the choice of *ni* passives. This is because they have a communicative function of encoding 'affectivity', and it is not sufficient to account for these passives in terms of whether the agent or a non-agent is in the grammatical subject position, or Caffi & Janney's *selective order proximity markers* of *proximity devices* (B-4). The differences between the active and the passive are not only the order of the appearance of the agent and the patient, and the relative focus, but also the evaluative judgement made by the speaker in describing the event.

What is important to note in the present study is that the three constructions under discussion, that is, *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives, have one thing in common; they all function as *evaluation devices* (A) and encode a positive-to-negative evaluative stance of the speaker. Interestingly, *ni* passives, the *te simau* construction and benefactives can be constructed in English as a combination of the 'information' (Kamio 1994) and evaluative or modal expressions. In other words, these constructions can be interpreted in English as follows:

Ni passives: I was positively or negatively (in varying degrees) 'affected' by [the 'information'];

Te simau construction: Regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently (and sometimes unintentionally) [the 'information'];

Benefactives: I am grateful⁴⁵ that [the 'information'].

This observation suggests that it is likely to be profitable to relate these constructions in teaching English-speaking learners by re-introducing these forms together after they had been taught separately in class.

We have seen how feelings and attitudes are encoded linguistically in Japanese, by focusing on three types of constructions: *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives. What do all these mean to learners of Japanese? This is the point I now turn to as a conclusion to this section on affective stances and to this chapter.

⁴⁴ Having said that, the agent is still in the background and is not completely deleted (see Teramura 1982, p. 243). The use of the *ni* passive can be regarded as polite (Brown & Levinson 1978/1987) to the extent that the identity of the agent is not expressed. However, the information that the speaker was 'affected' by the event, for which the agent is responsible, is still encoded in the *ni* passive and this can, in some cases, lead to impoliteness.

⁴⁵ See footnote 14.

4-3. Learning to encode affect in non-native speakers' utterances

For learners of Japanese, the learning of the appropriate use of *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives involves the mapping of these forms to their meanings, namely the notion of 'affectivity' to *ni* passives, regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality) to *te simau* and gratitude to benefactives. The following processes are essential in learning⁴⁶:

- (1) learning of forms and relevant particles;
- (2) learning the meanings of these forms: that is, the notion of 'affectivity' for *ni* passives; a sense of regret/misfortune/inconvenience (and sometimes unintentionality), as well as the mitigating function, of *te simau* as mentioned in Section 4-1 above; and gratitude for benefactives;
- (3) assessing and conceptualising the 'affective' situation in which the learner is placed;
- (4) mapping the linguistic constructions (process 1) to the meanings and functions (process 2) in consideration of the situation (process 3), as well as judging the consequences that arise from the choice of the construction.

All of these four processes are essential for successful communication. My claim is that explicit instruction (see Chapter 1) in these factors can foster learning since it can direct learners to notice and control these meanings through the above-mentioned processes.

Inappropriate use or non-use of the constructions discussed above is likely to make learners sound deviant or foreign and thus **outsiders** to the social group. This point is stated in Ochs (1996) when she makes the following point in discussing the Indexicality Principle of language socialization:

Every novice enters a fluid, sometimes volatile, social world that varies in certain conventional, non-random ways. Membership is accrued as novices begin to move easily in and out of linguistically configured situations. As they do so, novices build up associations between particular forms and particular identities, relationships, actions, stances, and the like. A basic tenet of language socialization research is that *socialization is in part a process of assigning situational, i.e., indexical, meanings* (e.g. temporal, spatial, social identity, social act, social activity, affective or epistemic meanings) to particular forms (e.g. interrogative forms, diminutive affixes, raised pitch and the like). (pp. 410-411, emphases in the original)

It should be clear from the discussion in this chapter that the acquisition of the appropriate use of *ni* passives (as well as other related constructions) is crucial for

⁴⁶ These processes may not or do not have to take place in the described order. Some of the learners in my experiments encoded the meaning of 'affectivity' or adversity of *ni* passives but still displayed a problem with the passive verbal forms and/or particles.

successful communication. They are used by NSs to encode the information that the speaker has been placed into a certain position by an external force and has been 'affected' by what has happened (see Section 3-3). Thus, encoding one's affective stance is important in ensuring that the speaker's intention is reflected in his/her utterances. It is also important in terms of language socialisation, or being part of the language community. This is because by not encoding one's affective stance, the speaker can communicate that s/he did not develop an appropriate response to the described event and this can make him/her sound impersonal or indifferent. For instance, when talking about a theft that happened in his/her flat, one of the (advanced) learners told me

- (35) *Doroboo-ga hait-tyat-ta n desu. Rapputoppu to printaa-o*
 thief-Nom enter-regrettably-Past Nml Cop-Polite laptop and printer-Acc
motte it-ta n desu
 take away-Past Nml Cop-Polite
 (Regrettably a thief burgled my flat. S/he took my laptop and printer away).

One of the NSs, whom I asked to describe what speaker feeling this utterance may convey, stated that it made him/her wonder if the speaker was happy about what had happened. This kind of misunderstanding can result in a wrong impression the hearer obtains regarding the personality of the speaker. Thus, not encoding the speaker's affective stance can affect the impression that the speaker gives about his/her personality and if this happens often, it may eventually cause difficulty for the speaker to integrate into the language community.

5. Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the meanings of Japanese *ni* passives with reference to their classification and the origin of the adversity meaning. It was pointed out that an approach that treats these passives as forming a continuum should be more helpful to learners.

I pointed out that most studies of Japanese passives have concentrated on the description and characterisation of passive sentences or even the core elements of passive sentences (such as the agent, patient, possessor and the accompanied particles), largely ignoring contextual, discoursal and pragmatic factors surrounding them. I have also argued that these approaches do not capture the ways in which *ni*

passives are processed on-line. I have proposed that Kuroda's (1979) notion of 'affectivity', with some modification, can accommodate these factors and is an effective and efficient tool for the description of *ni* passives to learners. A global approach of this kind should be useful for learners as it reflects how utterances are interpreted or produced in actual communication in real life.

I shifted my focus in Section 3 from the description and characterisation of Japanese *ni* passives to the issue of why they are selected when they are. I proposed that both cognitive and communicative factors motivate the use of *ni* passives. The use of the *ni* passive reflects the speaker's conceptualisation of an event as having occurred to him/her without his/her own will, brought about by an external force and as something that has 'affected' him/her. However, in actual communication *ni* passives are avoided, for instance, when the speaker thinks it necessary for politeness reasons to avoid mentioning the fact that s/he was 'affected' by the event. The use of the (*ni*) passive (other than the *Vi* passive) enables the speaker to avoid mentioning the agent. However, the existence of the agent cannot be eliminated because it is still implied (Teramura 1982, p. 243) in the passive, and this can conflict with the speaker's communicative need where consideration of politeness is crucial. In such cases, the speaker is likely to avoid the use of the *ni* passive altogether. I further argued that the speaker **chooses to use** the *ni* passive to communicate the 'affectivity' and other meanings mentioned above when a subjective description is preferred, as in describing an incident of a theft to a close friend. Thus, communication failure occurs when the speaker encodes his/her feeling or attitude without meaning to, or does not do so when a personal and subjective expression is expected.

In the final section, I have re-examined the 'affectivity' of *ni* passives in relation to the *te simau* construction and benefactives, under the notion of affect. By adopting Caffi & Janney's (1994) framework, I have pointed out that all these constructions can be used as devices to express the speaker's evaluative judgement or feelings/attitude about the described event/state. It was concluded that not encoding one's affective stance can cause a communication failure, and it can also be a problem in terms of language socialisation.

In the next Chapter I shall bring together the theoretical arguments made in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, and propose a framework for explaining the process of learning of

Japanese *ni* passives.

Chapter 3: Acquisition/Learning of Japanese *ni* Passives

1. Introduction

In this Chapter, I shall shift my focus to the issue of the learning of *ni* passives by JFL learners in the light of the discussion on explicit instruction outlined in Chapter 1. I shall start by reviewing previous studies on the acquisition/learning of Japanese passives, with a focus on Tanaka's (1996, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) work, and examine the pedagogical proposals made by Ogawa & Ando (1999) and Kikuchi (2007) for teaching Japanese passives, which share some of the points I have made in Chapter 2. Notably, the latter studies emphasise the importance of the meaning of affectedness, but they lack an empirical foundation, which is what I provide in this study. Although Tanaka appears to be generally more interested in the issue of viewpoint in her discussion of DPs, she recognises the roles of semantic impact (the adversity meaning) of PPs (Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2000) and instruction (Tanaka 2000) in the acquisition of passives. However, these factors were not tested empirically in her studies. The purpose of Section 2-2 is to bring out some of the main issues surrounding the acquisition of Japanese *ni* passives as presented in Tanaka's work. It is also argued that the work of Ogawa & Ando (1999) and Kikuchi (2007) can be re-interpreted in the light of the theoretical argument made in Chapter 2 and, crucially, that it should be tested empirically. Providing theoretical justifications and empirical evidence in proposing a possible effective teaching method should strengthen the validity of their proposals.

Having reviewed the main issues arising from previous studies, I shall turn to a general model of acquisition on the basis of Gass's (1988, 1997) model of SLA, in Section 3. I shall describe each stage of this model, that is, apperceived input, comprehended input, intake, integration and output, and associate them with the learning of Japanese *ni* passives. Following Gass, I shall note the crucial role of apperceived (or noticed) input in terms of triggering the process of acquisition/learning. It is also argued that in order to facilitate learning, the *ni* passive form in input should be connected to its meaning and function; that is, the 'affectivity' meaning, which is specified by semantic and pragmatic information, and the function of presenting a personal event as having occurred to the 'affected' person, as described in detail in Chapter 2.

The crucial issue of the establishment of form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives is further elaborated on by adopting VanPatten's (2004a) principles of input processing, in Section 4. I argue that some of these principles predict not only the general difficulty of learning Japanese passives but also possible positive effects of treating *ni* passive forms as 'meaningful' (rather than as simply used to adjust viewpoint with no special semantic effects) and nonredundant (i.e. they cannot be simply replaced by actives).

Section 5 will provide justifications for adopting explicit instruction for the present study in terms of both methodological necessity and pedagogical effectiveness, and finally research questions and hypotheses will be presented in Section 6.

2. Previous studies on the acquisition/learning of Japanese passives

2-1. Chinese and English learners

Japanese passives, especially PPs (and Vi passives)¹, are observed to be difficult to acquire (Feng 1993, Hara 2002, Kajikawa 2002, Koo & Hsu 1980, Tanaka 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a). Learners often rely on the use of actives even after passives have been introduced in class (Mizutani 1985, Tanaka 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004). Despite this, there have been few studies that address the issue of the acquisition/learning of Japanese passives by NNSs. In this section, I shall review these studies².

Koo & Hsu (1980) examined the errors in the use of question words and passives commonly made by Chinese learners in composition, conversation and translation. They point out that Japanese passives are one of the most difficult constructions for Chinese learners and provide examples of passives used inappropriately. These include the use of the DP when the PP is appropriate in

- (1) *Yuube syokutaku ni oite oita niku-ga neko-ni kuw-are-ta*
meat I had left on the dinig table-Nom cat-by eat-Pass-Past
 (The meat I left on the dining table last night was eaten by a cat)

¹ Studies that address the issue of acquisition/learning of Vi passives are scarce, an exception being Hara (2002), who conducted grammaticality judgement tests.

² I shall focus on studies that examine production of Japanese *ni* passives by NSs of Chinese and English since these are particularly relevant to the present study. There are no studies that I am aware of that focus on NSs of German, Gujarati or French, the L1s of a small number of the learners in the present study. Although Watanabe's (1996) contrastive study of discourse styles included German learners, the issue of how passives are acquired/learned is not addressed.

(p. 58, emphasis changed). They state that this is a typical error made by Chinese speakers and that PPs with an adversity meaning like this one were hard for them to understand. Koo & Hsu emphasise the necessity of contrastive studies of Chinese and Japanese passives in order to foster learning.

Turning to English-speaking learners, Watabe et al (1991) conducted a contrastive study of English and Japanese speakers' use of passives in the two languages in two types of writing tasks: a newspaper account of an incident of a fire and a composition on a personal experience entitled 'The Most Misfortunate [*sic*] Event in My Life' (p. 121). Four groups of subjects wrote these compositions: English NSs with no knowledge of Japanese; Japanese NSs learning English in the USA and who had studied it for an average of 9.8 years and lived in the USA for an average of 31.1 months; Japanese NSs who had just come to the USA with very little knowledge of English; and English NSs studying Japanese in the USA who had studied it for an average of approximately four years and had experience of living in Japan for eighteen to twenty-two months. Watabe et al found that when writing in L1, the NSs of English used significantly more passives in newspaper accounts whereas the NSs of Japanese used these forms significantly more in the personal accounts. Interestingly, English-speaking learners of Japanese also used passives in Japanese much more in the newspaper accounts than in the personal accounts, unlike the NSs of Japanese. On the basis of this Watabe et al conclude that both the Japanese-speaking learners of English and the English-speaking learners of Japanese transferred the functions of the passives in their L1 when writing in L2. Specifically, the English NSs used passives for the purpose of topicalisation and suppression of the agent when writing in Japanese, whereas the Japanese NSs used passives when writing in English to express the affectedness meaning.

Watabe et al's claim regarding the Japanese speakers' use of English passives as a means of encoding the affectedness meaning may be speculative since no metalinguistic comments regarding the intention of the writers were collected. However, one important achievement of this study is to point out the inappropriateness caused by non-use of the (*ni*) passive for an affective event in the writing of an English-speaking learner of Japanese. No further attempt was made, however, to elaborate on this crucial point or to suggest what can be done to solve this problem. As for the inappropriate use of (*ni*) passives that results in conveyance

of the adversity meaning, Watabe et al. maintain that this is caused by transfer of the topicalisation function of English passives. Their conclusion is that the discourse functions of the structures should be taught along with the forms.

Within the framework of Pienemann's (1989, see also Pienemann 1999) processability theory, Kajikawa (2002) sought to answer the questions of whether DPs with the first person subject used to adjust the viewpoint (first person DPs) are acquired in the last stage (Stage 6: the clause boundary stage)³, as reported by Kawaguchi (1999), and whether learners who are not psycholinguistically ready can acquire these passives by memorising exemplars of the first person DPs and applying their use to other sentences. The ten NSs of English learning Japanese in the USA who participated in Kajikawa's (2002) study were given two posttests after instruction of passives and continued input; the first test three days after the treatment and the second, eight weeks later. Scenes from videos were used to elicit passives from these learners. The results show that the three learners who produced the first person DPs in the second posttest could also produce relative clauses. This suggests that the first person DPs are acquired after relative clauses, both of which belong to Stage 6, as predicted. What is most intriguing is the fact that the two learners who could produce the first person DPs three days after the instruction without psycholinguistic readiness (i.e., had not reached Stage 5 (the inter-phrasal stage)) lost their ability to produce them eight weeks later. This contrasts with the learners who had reached Stage 5 at the time of the instruction and could produce the first person DPs in the second posttest. Thus, Kajikawa concludes that psycholinguistic readiness is necessary for the long-term retention of the production of the first person DPs and that these passives are difficult, as predicted. Kajikawa's emphasis is on the viewpoint in learners' descriptions, or the coordination of viewpoint in complex sentences and naturalness in discourse.

Overall, the previous studies have confirmed that DPs, PPs and Vi passives⁴ are indeed difficult, sometimes even for advanced learners. PPs and Vi passives have been observed to be particularly difficult for most of the learners. Given that the

³ This stage follows the lemma, lexical, phrasal and interphrasal stages. Learners who have reached Stage 6 are regarded as being capable of processing information across the clause boundaries, as in relative clause formation. According to Kawaguchi (1999), '[t]he operation at this stage involves the recognition of the sub-string and the movement of elements out of the sub-string to other positions. Thus information processing at this stage includes both within and across these strings' (p. 88).

⁴ See Hara (2002) regarding Vi passives.

learners in the present study are at the beginning and intermediate levels, it is expected that they would experience considerable difficulty in using *ni* passives.

The previous studies discussed above tend to emphasise the function of passives in adjusting viewpoint in describing an event or in discourse. Also, none, to my current knowledge, has empirically tested the role of manipulated input in teaching *ni* passives. Furthermore, none of these studies has addressed the issue of the learning processes involved in the production of *ni* passives, especially with a longitudinal perspective. One notable exception to the last problem is Tanaka (1996, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a), whose work I now turn to.

2-2. Development of viewpoint and voice

Tanaka (1996, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) studied the processes of the acquisition of viewpoint and voice in learners of Japanese with different L1s including English and Chinese, and examined empirically the production of constructions including DPs (in complex/compound sentences, in order to examine the use of viewpoint - Example (2)), PPs (Example (3)) and benefactives (Examples (4) and (5)) (Tanaka 1999a, p. 118)⁵:

- (2) *Tomodati-ni haruyasumi ni ryokoo ni ikanai ka*
 friend-by whether I'd like to go on holiday with him/her during the spring
to sasow-are-ta keredo, okane mo hima mo nai node kotowatta
 vacation invite-Pass-Past but I turned down the invitation as I have no money
 or time
 (I was invited by a friend to go on holiday with him/her during the spring vacation,
 but I turned down the invitation as I have no money or time);

- (3) *Tonari-no zyosei-ni asi-o hum-are-ta*
 woman next to me-by foot-Acc step on-Pass-Past
 (I had my foot stepped on by the woman next to me and was negatively 'affected' by
 this);

- (4) *Tomodati-ga boku-no gaaruhurendo-o home-te kure-te,*
 friend-Nom my girlfriend-Acc praise-Ben: 'give' a favour/do a favour-Ger
uresikatta
 I was happy
 (I was happy because my friend 'gave' me a favour of/did me a favour by praising my

⁵ Tanaka's studies included DPs used as a means of adjusting viewpoint in complex/compound sentences and PPs, which she refers to as IPs. Vi passives were excluded since the use of this type of passive was variable in NSs in Tanaka's experiments. When I refer to Tanaka's DPs, I shall use the term 'viewpoint DPs', where relevant.

girlfriend);

- (5) *Tomodati-ni gaaruhurendo-o home-te morat-te, uresikatta*
friend-by girlfriend-Acc praise-Ben: receive a favour-Ger I was happy
(I was happy because I received my friend's favour of praising my girlfriend).

In her experiments, Tanaka adopted a sentence production test in which the subjects were presented with picture prompts and asked to describe them in writing in one sentence⁶, using the words provided (except for her 1996 work). Both a cross-sectional study of JFL learners⁷ and a follow-up study of JSL learners were conducted. Tanaka (e.g., 2000) also used fifty-six to 100 NSs (depending on the test item) as a baseline group.

As in other studies, Tanaka's conclusion is that production of passives, and especially PPs, is problematic not only for JFL but also JSL learners. For instance, the average score of the production of PPs by Tanaka's JFL learners was as low as 44.9% even at the highest (advanced) level, and the average score of all the JSL learners was only 54.4% after studying in Japan for a year (see Tanaka 2000, p. 230).

In her 1996 study, Tanaka compared those learners who stayed in Japan for nine and a half months after the summer course with those who returned to their home countries soon after the course and came back to Japan a year later. In the former group of learners the acquisition of PPs as well as viewpoint DPs improved. However, in the latter group of five learners, no further learning was observed in those who could not produce viewpoint DPs and PPs at the time of leaving Japan; in those who could produce these constructions just before returning to their home countries, small progress or at least retention of the use of viewpoint DPs was observed, but with regard to the PPs, backsliding or no progress was observed. This led Tanaka to conclude that the learning environment is an important factor affecting the acquisition of viewpoint DPs and voice, and particularly PPs. Tanaka (1999b, p. 98) also states that the English NSs in her study could not acquire PPs in the JFL environment that only provided declarative knowledge (see Chapter 1, Section 1-1)

⁶ Tanaka (1999a, 1999b) stated that she had also experimentally conducted the production test orally and that the findings were essentially the same as in the written tests. However, no details of the oral production test were provided. Tanaka (1999c, 1999d, 1999e, 2005a) also examined some of the data from the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) in a cross-sectional study.

⁷ Some of these learners may in fact be better treated as JSL learners because Tanaka delayed the test for those subjects with no prior knowledge of Japanese until they had completed the beginners' grammar in Japan (Tanaka

and that it seemed to be only after receiving formal instruction again in Japan that some of them might produce these passives. These findings pose a challenge to JFL learners and teachers, and given the lack of sufficient exposure to the TL in a JFL environment, an efficient and effective instructional method is much needed.

Amongst Tanaka's findings, three are of particular relevance to the present study: the appearance of DPs in the course of the acquisition of PPs (Tanaka 1996, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a), the tendency to place the agent at the sentence initial and the subject position (first noun strategy⁸) (Tanaka 1999a, p. 87, 1999b, p. 96, p. 99, pp. 103-104, 2004) and the appearance of the passive verbal form as a means of encoding the adversity meaning before the correct use of PPs (Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2000).

First, in examining the acquisition of PPs, Tanaka (1996, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) noted that some of the learners produced DPs in the course of acquisition, whilst others proceeded to the production of PPs without such a stage. The route via the DP stage and fossilisation (or stabilisation) at this stage were widely observed in speakers of English, Chinese, Indonesian and Malay. What is striking is the fact that most of the English NSs displayed fossilisation at this DP stage (Tanaka 2000, p. 237). Tanaka concludes that for these learners the progress from DPs to PPs was difficult to achieve in less than one year. Although Tanaka (2004) observed that prolonged stay in Japan for more than one year led to improvement in the use of viewpoint DPs and PPs in her subjects, it was unclear, given the lack of relevant data, whether those learners who could produce PPs could retain their ability once they had returned to the JFL environment (Tanaka 2000).

Secondly, Tanaka (1999a, 1999b, 2004) has made an illuminating observation regarding the beginners' tendency to place the agent in the sentence initial and the subject position. Utterances such as

(6) **Doroboo-ga saihu-o tor-are-ta*
 thief-Nom purse-Acc steal-Pass-Past

and

1997, p. 110).

⁸ See VanPatten (1996, p. 33) and also his description of the First Noun Principle (VanPatten 2004a), which states 'Learners tend to process the first noun or pronoun they encounter in a sentence as the subject or agent' (p. 15). I shall discuss this in Section 4-1 below.

(7) **Doroboo-ni saihu-o tot-ta*
 thief-by purse-Acc steal-Past

when the thief is the agent of the action of stealing (Tanaka 1999a, p. 125, emphasis changed) were frequently observed in the process of acquisition in the speakers of English. Although Tanaka noted that this tendency may be observable in the speakers of subject prominent languages (Li & Thompson 1976), she also stated that the learners who exhibited this tendency were, regardless of their L1, also non-proficient learners who had stayed in Japan for a short period of time. Given insufficient evidence in her data, Tanaka (1999b, p. 104) draws a conclusion that this phenomenon is likely to be characteristic of beginners, which she relates to the first noun strategy (or the First Noun Principle in VanPatten (2004a); see footnote 8). This seems to be a very crucial point in a study of acquisition of passives. Although Tanaka did not pursue a further discussion regarding the applicability of VanPatten's first noun strategy/First Noun Principle and other principles in her study, I believe that they serve as promising tools for the description of the mechanism of learning *ni* passives. I shall return to VanPatten's principles including the First Noun Principle in Section 4-1.

Thirdly, Tanaka (1999a, 1999b, 2000) makes a crucial observation regarding the appearance of the passive verbal form as a means of encoding the adversity meaning (even if the learners do not use the correct particles) before the correct use of PPs is achieved. In discussing the performance of the English NSs, Tanaka (1999b, p. 98, p. 99) observed that some of these learners seemed to know that they should use the passive (verbal form) if they were annoyed by the described event, but had not noticed the structural and semantic differences between the DP and the PP, and ended up producing incorrect particles. The following statement made by Tanaka (2000) captures this point:

In the environment of JSL, NNSs are probably able to understand the underlying concept or nuance of the IP [PP, see footnote 5]; however, it appears that direct input '-rareru', is taken in but not processed as IP [possessor passive]. In other words, the particles which accompany the passive [verbal] form are not taken in.

(p. 239)

Although this statement was made in arguing for the importance of feedback, equally relevant is the observation that the 'underlying concept or nuance' (p. 239),

or the adversity ('affectivity') meaning of PPs may be processed at an early stage (before accurate use of the forms). This means that learners (English NSs in Tanaka) initially used the semantic information associated with these passives⁹, which in turn means that for these learners this concept became accessible at an early stage in the acquisition of *ni* passives. In this respect, it is very interesting that in Tanaka (1999a), passives with clear negative meanings were produced (successfully or with errors in particles) by English NSs before what Tanaka calls 'neutral' passives, with the production of (viewpoint) DPs preceding PPs. As Tanaka (1999c, p. 156) states (with caution that input processing may be different from production), it is possible that one of VanPatten's (1996) input processing principles, which states '[l]earners process input for meaning before they process it for form' (pp. 14-15) is in operation (see also VanPatten 2004a, p. 7 and Section 4-1 below).

Tanaka (2000) also addresses the issue of what factors affect the acquisition of PPs and lists the following: the available structures in learner's L1, formal instruction in the JSL environment and input and feedback. First, the availability of a structure in learner's L1 that is similar to the PP seemed to be related to the production of these passives. Thus, if the learner's L1 has a construction that is similar to the PP, the production of this type of passive is not problematic. Tanaka (2000, 2004, 2005a) provides an example from Korean, which has PPs with inseparable possession (body parts) and, as far as DPs are concerned, Chinese, which has a construction parallel to *waraw-are-ru* (laugh-Pass-Nonpast) (Tanaka 2004, 2005a). Tanaka (2000) also observes that fossilisation tended to occur at a stage where there is a similar structure in the learner's L1.

Secondly, Tanaka (2000) notes that some of the learners including English NSs may acquire PPs after receiving instruction on passives during their stay in Japan. However, as the effects of instruction were not measured in her studies, she does not elaborate on this matter. I intend to address this issue in the present study. Thirdly, Tanaka acknowledges the importance of input and feedback on learner's output. The latter is crucial given that elements such as particles are omitted in naturally occurring input.

In general, Tanaka seems to be more interested in passives as a means of coordinating viewpoint, rather than their 'affectivity' meaning or function of

⁹ Tanaka (1999a, 2004, 2005a) makes a similar observation regarding benefactives.

describing events subjectively. This is explicitly stated in her recent work in which she states '[w]hile BEN [the benefactive] includes functional expressions such as requests, gratitude and humbleness, neither DP nor IP [i.e., PP] has functional expressions' (Tanaka 2005a, p. 217) and 'functional or semantic aspects (benefit, favour) [of the benefactive] are easy to recognize but syntactic ones (passives) are difficult' (p. 215). Despite the different approach taken by Tanaka, her proposal for giving more emphasis on the 'speaker viewpoint' in teaching seems crucial and is in line with my approach in which the learners were encouraged to describe events subjectively, and encode the 'affectivity' meaning via *ni* passives.

Tanaka's insights and interesting findings help to frame the method of my experiments which I shall describe in Chapter 4. Before that, however, I turn to the practical proposals made by Ogawa & Ando (1999) and Kikuchi (2007) with respect to teaching passives. Their approach is in line with my argument about adopting the notion of 'affectivity' as the core meaning of Japanese *ni* passives.

2-3. Proposals for teaching Japanese passives

Ogawa & Ando (1999) have proposed a cognitive and prototype approach to teaching passives, in which various meanings and functions of passives are introduced to learners at different proficiency levels. Their approach to teaching beginners has similarities with what I suggest in this study in that they maintain that passives are expressions selected by the speaker to describe that someone/something has received an influence. They take the position that interpreting the meanings of benefit/adversity depends on the lexicon and context, rather than the passive structures. They also state that the selection of the passive reflects the cognitive perception of the event by the speaker and it is not reasonable to present the active counterpart for all passive sentences. They correctly argue against giving an impression that the same event can be expressed by the active since this can lead to avoidance of the passive and affect the motivation of learners. This approach allows for a uniform treatment of all instances of (*ni*) passives, with an emphasis on the meaning of affectedness. Crucially, however, the claim regarding the effectiveness of Ogawa & Ando's approach needs empirical evidence as well as theoretical justifications. They also have not suggested what impact their teaching method might have on learning processes. These are issues I shall address in the present

study.

Recently, Kikuchi (2007) has also suggested an approach in which passives are taught as expressions to indicate that the influence of the agent's action has reached the passive subject. He further argues that initially the DP can effectively be introduced using passive verbs such as *sasowaremasita* (I was invited) alone, and with the addition of *P-o* (Acc) (for PPs), *Ag-ni* (by) and so on as the next step. This will make the presentation of the active counterparts for passive sentences, as well as classification of passives, unnecessary. His argument that *(ni)* passives are communicatively important in that they encode the affective stance and feelings of the speaker is in line with the approach taken in the present study as well as in Furukawa (2006, 2008). However, Kikuchi's proposal also requires empirical support.

Having reviewed previous studies that address the specific issue of learning to produce Japanese *ni* passives, let us now return to the more fundamental issue of the general processes of SLA, concerning what happens when a learner is exposed to second language input and ultimately produces utterances. For this, I shall begin by describing Gass's (1988, 1997) model of SLA, which explains various stages of acquisition as well as how they are interrelated. After this, I shall attempt to answer the questions of how the acquisition/learning of *ni* passives may occur and what pedagogical intervention might be useful to foster learning.

3. Gass's (1988, 1997) model of second language acquisition

3-1 Five components of second language acquisition

Gass (1988, 1997) proposed a model of SLA that reflects the dynamic and interactive nature of the processes involved. This model is characterised as having five components: apperceived input, comprehended input, intake, integration and output.

Ambient speech contains an overwhelming amount of information. Given that humans do not learn or attend to all the information around them, ambient speech needs to be filtered for learning to take place. What needs to happen at the initial stage of SLA is that the learner recognises that there is something in the ambient speech to be learned, or to notice the gap between his/her current organisation of the TL and a certain aspect of the TL (Schmidt & Frota 1986). Gass (1997) calls this

apperception, which is defined as 'the process of understanding by which newly observed qualities of an object are initially related to past experiences' (p. 4). Apperception is a priming device that enables the input to be processed further. **Apperceived input** therefore is the part of the language that is 'noticed in some way by the learner because of some particular recognizable features' (p. 4).

Input that has been apperceived may be **comprehended** at different levels ranging from semantics to detailed structural analyses. The possibility of the conversion of input into intake partly rests on the level of analysis of the language data achieved. Gass (1988, 1997) claims that an analysis at the level of meaning is not as useful as an analysis at the morphological, lexical or syntactic level for intake (see also Færch & Kasper 1986). Setting a separate stage of **comprehended input** reflects the observation that not all comprehended input becomes intake. This is the case when, for example, input is discarded after being comprehended/used only for the immediate purpose of communication. Færch & Kasper (1980, p. 64) make a relevant distinction between 'intake as communication' and 'intake as learning'. For Gass (1988, 1997) the former is not part of intake.

Gass (1997) defines **intake** as the process of assimilating linguistic material, which mediates input and the learner's internalised set of rules or grammars. Intake 'refers to the process of attempted integration of linguistic information' (p. 25). It is at this level that psycholinguistic processing of matching information against prior knowledge and processing in terms of the existing internalised grammatical rules take place. It is also where generalizations are likely to occur, memory traces are formed and fossilization stems from.

According to Gass, there are at least two outcomes of the intake having performed its task: the development *per se* of one's L2 grammar and storage¹⁰ (pp. 5-6). As Gass & Selinker (1994/2001/2008) state, a learner may form a hypothesis about some grammatical form (in the intake component). If it is confirmed by new input data, this leads to strengthening and **integration** of that knowledge; if it is rejected, the hypothesis is modified and put into storage to await confirmation from further input. Storage occurs possibly because some level of understanding has taken place.

¹⁰ If the information in the input is already incorporated into a learner's grammar, the input may be used to strengthen the rule or for 'hypothesis reconfirmation'. This helps a learner in achieving automatic retrieval of information from his/her knowledge base. This process takes place at the level of intake and is called 'apparent nonuse'.

Turning to **output**, Gass sees this as having an active role in SLA, which goes beyond improving fluency, following Swain (1985). By producing an L2 form, a learner can test his/her hypotheses about certain aspects of L2 grammar. By doing this s/he can obtain feedback from their interlocutor/teacher etc., which may assist him/her in modifying his/her initial hypotheses if they turn out to be incorrect/inappropriate. This can serve as feedback into the intake component. Secondly, output can foster learning by forcing the learner to move from solely semantic to syntactic analysis of language (Swain 1985). This can provide a feedback loop to comprehended input and can facilitate intake.

3-2 The role of selective attention

As mentioned earlier, learners are surrounded by an overwhelming amount of L2 data. It is important that learners' attention is focused on a limited amount of data at a given time. For noticing and learning to occur, learners' attention must be drawn to the relevant feature of language (e.g., Gass 1988, Robinson 1995b, Schmidt 1990, 1995, 2001, Tomlin & Villa 1994)¹¹. Gass (1997) maintains that those aspects of language that are internal to the learner and not (readily) available for introspection may be guided by Universal Grammar (see e.g., the relative clause studies of Gass 1979) and do not require attention or awareness for learning. These cannot be manipulated by others such as the teacher. However, those aspects that are external, or internal and available for introspection, can be manipulated to increase the likelihood of drawing the learner's attention to these aspects and of being noticed. In Gass's (1988, 1997) approach, apperceived input is seen as playing a crucial role in the process of SLA and it is largely determined by selective attention. It would therefore be helpful to direct learners' attention to the forms, meanings and function of *ni* passives in instruction (see also Chapter 1, Section 2). As we have seen, the first step in triggering change in a learner's grammar is his/her noticing the gap between the input and his/her existing linguistic system.

¹¹ See Chapter 1, Section 2 for the issue of attention and awareness in noticing.

3-3. Application to *ni* passives

One of the major advantages of Gass's (1988, 1997) model is its potential to explain in detail what might happen to input at various stages of learning/acquisition for not only those learners who manage to reach the output stage, but also those who might encounter problems at various intermediate stages. The present study attempts to seek some empirical evidence for some of the processes described by Gass, and in particular, the effects of comprehension at the levels of syntax and semantics.

When a learner is first taught *ni* passives in a JFL classroom, s/he may experience the following potential obstacles (amongst others). First, s/he may not be psychologically or developmentally ready (Kajikawa 2002, Kawaguchi 1999, Pienemann 1984, 1999) (see also Section 2-1) to learn *ni* passives given the current state of his/her developing system¹². Secondly, s/he may be developmentally ready but may not analyse *ni* passive forms deeply enough for the purpose of intake and eventual integration. Thirdly, s/he may put the hypothesis s/he has formed or the information presented in class in store; in this case, integration may be delayed or the information may eventually be forgotten. What instruction can aim to do is to assist the learner through the process of learning by manipulating the input so as to increase the possibility of apperception taking place, the apperceived input being comprehended, and analysis being made at the morphological, lexical or syntactic level so that intake and eventual integration may be made possible. Given the importance of apperceived input, in that it is what triggers the initial process of learning, it is reasonable to manipulate input in such a way as to facilitate learning. Obviously, what is essential is apperception that leads to the next stage of comprehension and beyond.

However, a question remains as to what characteristics such manipulated input might have in teaching *ni* passives. The type of input that can serve the purpose is one that can assist learners to create the connection between the *ni* passive form on the one hand, and the 'affectivity' meaning and the function of presenting the described event in a personal way on the other. I shall argue below that the semantic impact that the 'affectivity' meaning can create is expected to serve the purpose.

Assisting learners to establish connections between *ni* passive forms and their

¹² For instance, if a learner cannot handle particles even in actives, s/he may carry over the same problem into the production of passives.

meanings and function is likely to increase the likelihood of intake occurring because it encourages morphological (the passive *(r)are* form) and syntactic (selection of the subject and case marking) analyses. In other words, such connections are helpful for learners in comprehending *ni* passives deeply enough for intake to take place because they can foster an analysis of language data at a morphological/syntactic rather than a solely semantic level (Gass 1988, 1997).

I shall now explain how form-meaning and function connections can be effectively made for *ni* passives by drawing upon VanPatten's (2004a) principles of input processing. The purpose of the next section is to provide a theoretical background to the claim about the role of a semantic impact of the *ni (r)areru* form in learning *ni* passives, as well as a general mechanism of processing *ni* passives.

4. *Ni* passive meanings and function

4-1. VanPatten's (2004a) principles of input processing

VanPatten (2004a)¹³ proposed principles of input processing designed to account for the initial process of SLA, namely, creating connections between grammatical forms and their meanings and/or functions, and interpreting the roles of nouns in relation to verbs (p. 5). He defines the term 'processing' as 'making a connection between form and meaning' (p. 6). This means that 'a learner notes a form and at the same time determines its meaning (or function)' (p. 6) regardless of whether the connection to the meaning is complete or partial. Processing implies the occurrence of perception and noticing (with the latter defined as 'any conscious registration of a form, but not necessarily with any meaning attached to it (Schmidt, 1990)' (VanPatten 2004a, p. 6)), but unlike these two, it also means that a form has been linked with meaning and/or function (p. 7). The principles of input processing operate in guiding learners' attention to linguistic form in the input, regarding which VanPatten takes the following position:

During interaction in the L2,

¹³ VanPatten (2004b, 2007) revises some of his principles of Input Processing to incorporate the incremental nature of sentence parsing/processing, and to provide more accurate terminology. However, these changes do not affect my argument because my interest lies in input processing (how learners initially make form-meaning and function connections, which is what VanPatten (1996, 2004a) originally focused on), rather than sentence parsing, and how instruction can assist learners with this process. VanPatten's principles are used to justify the approach of treating *ni* passives as meaningful (encoding the notion of 'affectivity') and not redundant (not replaceable by

- (1) 'learners are focused primarily on the extraction of meaning from the input (e.g., Faerch & Kasper, 1986; Krashen, 1982)';
- (2) 'learners must somehow "notice" things in the input for acquisition to happen (Schmidt, 1990 and elsewhere)';
- (3) 'noticing is constrained by working memory limitations regarding the amount of information they can hold and process during on line (or real time) computation of sentences during comprehension (e.g., Just & Carpenter, 1992)'.

(VanPatten 2004a, p. 7)

Principle 1 and its sub-principles below are related to the processing of components of input, and Principle 2 and its sub-principles are related to the assignment of grammatical/semantic roles to nouns in relation to the verb of the sentence¹⁴. Let us look at Principle 1 and its sub-principles first:

Principle 1. The Primacy of Meaning Principle

Learners process input for meaning before they process it for form.

(p. 7)

As VanPatten states, learners are driven to look for the message and the intention of the speaker in input. Being pushed to get the meaning with limited resources as mentioned above, certain elements of form will not be processed in a way that leads to acquisition. VanPatten argues that this observation is consistent with a number of perspectives on both L1 and L2 acquisition (e.g., Faerch & Kasper 1986, Klein 1986, Sharwood Smith 1986). What are most likely to be processed first are content words (and chunks that consist of a content word and an element that is attached to it, such as inflection). VanPatten calls this 'The Primacy of Content Words Principle':

Principle 1a.

The Primacy of Content Words Principle

Learners process content words in the input before anything else.

(VanPatten 2004a, p. 8)

In natural language, there are redundant elements in sentences or in discourse such as the marking of the English present tense third person singular. For instance, 'John (third-person sing) talks (third person sing) too much' (p. 8) contains two elements that denote this concept, that is, the proper noun John and the -s ending on the verb.

actives to achieve the same semantic and communicative effects), in an attempt to assist learning.

¹⁴ See VanPatten (1996, 2004a) for evidence for these principles in both L1 and L2 acquisition.

On hearing this sentence, the learner may not have to process the grammatical form (the -s ending) to obtain the semantic information that someone other than the speaker and the addressee is being talked about, because the proper noun 'John' already contains such information. This is what VanPatten calls 'The Lexical Preference Principle'¹⁵:

Principle 1b. The Lexical Preference Principle

Learners will tend to rely on lexical items as opposed to grammatical form to get meaning when both encode the same semantic information.

(p. 9)

VanPatten also states that not all forms equally express meaning; some have meaning (the English progressive -ing) and some do not (e.g., adjective agreement in the romance languages). As mentioned above in the example of the English present tense third person singular marking, some forms are redundant whereas others (such as the English progressive -ing) are nonredundant. The following two principles, 'The Preference for Nonredundancy Principle' and 'The Meaning-Before-Nonmeaning Principle' specify processing of grammatical forms in terms of redundancy and meaningfulness or semantic value (VanPatten 1996):

Principle 1c. The Preference for Nonredundancy Principle

Learners are more likely to process nonredundant meaningful grammatical form before they process redundant meaningful forms.

Principle 1d. The Meaning-Before-Nonmeaning Principle

Learners are more likely to process meaningful grammatical forms before nonmeaningful forms irrespective of redundancy.

(VanPatten 2004a, p. 11)

In view of the limits of working memory and the demand of comprehension for learners at the beginning and intermediate stages, VanPatten argues that, with increased comprehensibility, it becomes more likely that a form gets processed. The following principle captures this point:

Principle 1e. The Availability of Resources Principle

¹⁵ VanPatten uses the terms 'content word(s)' and 'lexical item(s)' interchangeably. I shall follow him in this respect below.

For learners to process either redundant meaningful grammatical forms or nonmeaningful forms, the processing of overall sentential meaning must not drain available processing resources.

(p. 11)

One important issue that this model proposes is the developmental nature of input processing in SLA. That is, learners at the initial stage of development allocate their attentional resources to the processing of content words. As learners' comprehension of lexical items and proficiency improve, the attentional resources previously consumed by the processing of content words will be released for the processing of grammatical forms in accordance with principles 1c and 1d in terms of meaningfulness and redundancy. The improvement in proficiency achieved in this manner can be explained in terms of Gass's (1988, 1997) model of SLA, in which a morphological/syntactic analysis is claimed to be more useful for intake than semantic analysis.

VanPatten also proposed 'The Sentence Location Principle' on the basis of research (e.g., Barcroft & VanPatten 1997 cited in VanPatten 2004a, Klein 1986 and some of the literature in cognitive psychology) that suggests that the salience of elements of an utterance is determined by their position, with sentence initial position being most salient, followed by sentence final position and then medial position¹⁶:

Principle 1f. The Sentence Location Principle

Learners tend to process items in sentence initial position before those in final position and these latter in turn before those in medial position.

(VanPatten 2004a, p. 14)

Next, VanPatten expands the notion of form to word order in sentences in terms of relationships of nouns to a verb (grammatical roles such as the subject and semantic roles such as the agent).

One of the most intriguing points made by VanPatten, which was quoted by Tanaka (1999a, 1999b, 2004), is the research finding that beginners tag the first noun in the sequence of NP-V-NP as the subject or the agent, even in passives. Interestingly, this is true of both L1 acquisition and L2 acquisition with learners with various L1

¹⁶ According to VanPatten (2007, p. 125), this generally applies to a good deal of human information processing, including language.

backgrounds (see e.g., Allen 2000, VanPatten 1996). Strikingly, Ervin-Tripp (1974) found that NSs of English learning French tended to interpret the first noun of a passive sentence as the agent despite the fact that these two languages have parallel passive structures (VanPatten 2004a, p. 15).

These observations form one of the bases for VanPatten's second principle referred to as the 'First Noun Principle'¹⁷:

P2. The First Noun Principle

Learners tend to process the first noun or pronoun they encounter in a sentence as the subject or agent.

(p. 15)

Reliance on this principle, as VanPatten points out, may result in a delay in the acquisition of passives, OVS structures, case marking and so on. Thus, the acquisition of passives in Japanese, which involve case marking, is expected to be particularly difficult and learners may not process case and other particles correctly for some time. This was observed to be the case in Tanaka's studies described in Section 2-2.

The First Noun Principle may be attenuated in certain cases. For instance, in the passive

- (8) *Tosyokan-no mado-ga doroboo-ni war-are-ta*
window of the library-Nom thief-by break-Pass-Past
(A window of the library was broken by a thief)

learners may not interpret the first noun as the subject/agent, because only an animate noun is capable of engaging in an intentional action of breaking a window (constraints from lexical semantics). Also learners' knowledge about the real world (event probabilities) may constrain the interpretation of sentences. Thus the First

¹⁷ Again, VanPatten (2004b, 2007) changes his position regarding universality of the First Noun Principle to reflect L1 preferences carried over to the L2, and replaces the 'first noun strategy' proposed in VanPatten (1996) and re-stated as the 'First Noun Principle' in VanPatten (2004a) with the 'L1 Transfer Principle', which states 'Learners begin acquisition with L1 parsing procedures' (VanPatten 2004b, p. 330). However, VanPatten (2007) states that more research is necessary to prove whether the universal or L1 specific approach is correct. The present study does not aim to test, nor is capable of testing, the universality of the First Noun Principle, since the number of subjects, as well as the range of their L1s, are limited. However, as noted in Section 2-2, Tanaka's (1999a, 1999b, 2004) observation of the operation of the first noun strategy (or the First Noun Principle in VanPatten (2004a, 2007)) in learners (beginners) with different L1s (Tanaka 1999b, 2004), with English NSs (Tanaka 1999a) showing this most prominently, suggests the significance of this principle in learning, although the number of the subjects with L1s other than English was small in her 1999b study.

Noun Principle is unlikely to operate in interpreting

- (9) *Yamada-san-wa ka-ni sas-are-ta*
Mr Yamada-Top mosquito-by bite-Pass-Past
(Mr Yamada was bitten by a mosquito and was negatively 'affected' by this),

because it is unlikely that Mr Yamada is the subject and the agent who bit the direct object/patient mosquito. These phenomena are explained in the following principles:

P2a. The Lexical Semantics Principle

Learners may rely on lexical semantics, where possible, instead of on word order to interpret sentences.

(p. 16)

P2b. The Event Probabilities Principle

Learners may rely on event probabilities, where possible, instead of word order to interpret sentences.

(p. 17)

Finally, learners' reliance on the First Noun Principle may be reduced significantly if there is a contextual cue that guides learners to interpret the sentence in a particular way. VanPatten (2004a, p. 17) provides the following example, in which learners displayed much less reliance on the First Noun Principle:

- (10) Roberto está en el hospital porque lo atacó María con un cuchillo.
Robert is in the hospital because him-OBJ [object] attacked Mary-SUBJ [subject]
with a knife.

(VanPatten & Houston 1998)

VanPatten calls the principle in operation here 'The Contextual Constraint Principle':

P2c. The Contextual Constraint Principle

Learners may rely less on the First Noun Principle if preceding context constrains the possible interpretation of a clause or sentence.

(p. 17)

VanPatten points out that it is important to look at various factors of a sentence that affect the overall processing. Sometimes, more than one principle may operate at the same time or one may take precedence over the other. Although it is yet to be

clarified how each principle interacts in determining the overall ease or mechanism of processing *ni* passives (as well as other constructions), or if there is any hierarchy in terms of the priority in these principles, VanPatten's principles are useful in forming hypotheses about the general overall difficulty of (*ni*) passives that learners at the beginning and possibly intermediate stages experience. Although VanPatten's principles are designed to explain sentence/utterance interpretation, since his emphasis was on the role of input processing in comprehension, they can also explain some of the phenomena observed in learners' output. Tanaka's observation regarding the first noun strategy mentioned above is one such example. Moreover, the learners who regarded the (incorrect) PP as encoding the 'nuance' of adversity were observed to start producing the *ni* passive verbal form (if not always accurately) to express the adversity **meaning**, before producing the correct possessor and other passive **forms** (Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2000) (Principle 1d: the Meaning-Before-Nonmeaning Principle). This means that the form that was regarded as meaningful (i.e., the (*r*)*areru* form) was processed and also produced first. This is probably not too surprising because, as VanPatten (1996) states, 'output is partially (if not mostly) shaped by the intake derived from input' (p. 22) and that the 'output reflects to some degree what has been processed in the input' (p. 29). Returning to the First Noun Principle, the initial tendency of marking the first noun (phrase) treated as the agent with the nominative *ga* or the topical *wa*, observed by Mizutani (1985) and Tanaka (1999a, 1999b, 2004), may fade as learners' proficiency level improves and they learn to manipulate various particles. This may happen as learners stop conceptualising events as energy transfer from the agent to the patient, and instead describe them as what happened to the 'affected' person, treated as the grammatical subject. I shall discuss this in more detail in the light of empirical data in Chapter 6, and will call the First Noun Principle applied to utterance production the 'First Noun Principle in Production'. The present study will provide some empirical evidence for the relevance of VanPatten's principles, by testing the effects of instructional treatment designed to encourage form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives. Let us now apply VanPatten's principles to *ni* passives.

4-2. Application to *ni* passives

According to VanPatten's (2004a) principles described above, the following factors

are expected to make the processing of (*ni*) passives difficult (in comprehension and production):

- (1) The passive morpheme and particles are not content words (lexical items) but grammatical items (Principle 1a);
- (2) The necessity to process both the passive morpheme and the case and other particles is likely to take up a considerable amount of attentional resources¹⁸ (see Principle 1e);
- (3) The First Noun Principle may predispose the learner to process passives as actives (Principle 2).

Although the fact that the passive verb (or Japanese verbs in general) is (normally) placed in the sentence final position may make this verb easier to process than the elements in the medial position or if it appeared in the medial position (Principle 1f), there are, on balance, considerably more factors that make processing of passives difficult, as we have seen above. Therefore, on the whole, passives are predicted to be processed late in the course of acquisition/learning.

The next task is to answer the questions of how learners are likely to initially process *ni* passives and how, with improved comprehension skills and proficiency, the initial tendency might change. It is also necessary to suggest in what way instruction might assist learners in overcoming some of the initial tendencies that might delay acquisition/learning of *ni* passives.

On encountering examples of *ni* passives, learners may not initially notice them. According to VanPatten's principles described above, the *ni* passive verbal form as well as particles such as *ni* (by) are predicted (by Principle 1a) to be processed at a later stage of development than the stage at which learners can only process content words/lexical items. Both *ni* and the passive (*are*) form are grammatical items and their processing is predicted to occur when the processing of lexical items does not use up attentional resources necessary for further processing. Consequently, what is likely to happen is that learners process the lexical content of the verb and regard it as the active. The First Noun Principle also predicts the sentence to be processed as the active.

The candidates for processing after the focus on lexical items are the nonredundant

¹⁸ In actual communication, the learner will also have to consider other factors such as the context and the communicative intention of the speaker (in comprehension) or of himself/herself (in production) in selecting the form (see Chapter 2, Sections 2-6 and 3-3). Here, I do not discuss these communicative issues since the purpose of this section is to apply VanPatten's input processing principles to the processing of *ni* passives.

meaningful grammatical forms (Principle 1c) and the meaningful grammatical forms regardless of redundancy (Principle 1d). The *ni* passive form may start to be processed, **if it is regarded as meaningful**. However, the processing of both the particle *ni* and the passive (*r*)*are* form may not occur, if learners do not have attentional resources necessary to process both elements. This is consistent with Tanaka's (1999a, 1999b, 2000) findings that the learners first produced passive verbal forms in PPs to encode the adversity meaning without adjustments of the particles as in Example (6), which is repeated below as Example (11) (emphasis changed):

- (11) **Doroboo-ga saihu-o tor-are-ta.*
 thief-Nom purse-Acc steal-Pass-Past

This suggests that learners associated the adversity meaning with the passive verbal form or treated this verbal form as meaningful, and this was useful in the production of the passive verb, although the particles are incorrect. The ability to process the passive verbal forms (and particles) means that analysis at the morphological and syntactic levels has taken place and this is useful for intake, as Gass (1988, 1997) states.

Instruction should aim to encourage this process by treating *ni* passive forms as meaningful, rather than as simply reflecting the viewpoint from which a description is made¹⁹. Teaching all instances of *ni* passives including DPs as encoding the 'affectivity' meaning can improve efficiency and assist learners to process them more easily by relying on their semantic properties. Also, processing *ni* on the agent can help learners overcome the operation of the First Noun Principle since the agent will no longer be regarded as the grammatical subject of the sentence.

Teaching DPs as semantically synonymous with actives does not seem to be helpful, because this amounts to saying that they have no unique meanings and can be replaced by actives, or that the existence of these passives is redundant²⁰. If this happens, these passives are likely to be processed later or even never, as predicted

¹⁹ In other words, the semantic value of DPs as a means of encoding 'affectivity' as mentioned above will be higher than if these passives are treated as simply coordinating viewpoint.

²⁰ Although VanPatten's principles are intended to explain how learners process elements of sentences and discourse, the basic idea that learners are initially less likely to process nonmeaningful and redundant elements (Principle 1d and Principle 1c respectively) can be applied to the active vs. DP opposition.

by VanPatten's Principles 1c and 1d. Treating the DP form as encoding a distinct notion of 'affectivity' and as being different from the active form in terms of the encoded semantic information can increase the likelihood of this form being processed. This procedure of raising processing priority for DPs (in terms of meaningfulness and redundancy in the sense mentioned above) can be supported with motivational factors by making learners aware of the communicative function and interpersonal consequences that the use or non-use of *ni* passives can bring about.

In Chapter 2, Section 3-2, I stated that the use of *ni* passives reflects conceptualisation of an affective event as something that has happened to the 'affected' person, or the 'affected' person as the grammatical subject (or the reference point), as well as to encode the 'affectivity' meaning. This can prevent the use of the DP in place of the PP, a phenomenon observed to be persistent by Tanaka (e.g., 2000, 2004, 2005a). The meaning of 'affectivity' plays a crucial role here, since it can make a semantic impact on learners, which Tanaka (1999c) found to be useful in learning, and it also relates the reference point with the occurred event. Crucially, this kind of event conceptualisation is different from that of the active, in which the event is conceptualised as a transfer of energy from the agent to the patient, as we have seen in Chapter 2, Section 3-2. Importantly, the passive event conceptualisation, if adopted, can assist learners to overcome the operation of the First Noun Principle, which is again found to be a common problem by Tanaka (e.g., 1999b, 2004), and can alter the way in which they process output.

In sum, the claim I have made in discussing Gass's (1988, 1997) SLA model, that is, the importance of encouraging learners to notice *ni* passives by manipulating the input, is supplemented and justified by VanPatten's principles. Bringing the notion of 'affectivity' to learners' attention is justified by Principles 1d in that this approach treats *ni* passives as meaningful. The treatment of DPs as not replaceable by actives (and thus, nonredundant in the sense mentioned earlier) may also raise learners' motivation to use them (see also Ogawa & Ando 1999). This treatment is expected to encourage earlier and easier processing of *ni* passive forms, which, if treated as nonmeaningful and interchangeable with actives in the case of DPs, may not only be processed later (resulting in delayed processing and subsequent learning) but also remain unprocessed (leading to no learning). Critically, the form-meaning and

function connections of the *ni* -(r)areru forms with the 'affectivity' meaning also means that morphological and syntactic analysis has occurred and this, in turn, can lead to intake.

Having described the possible mechanism involved in the acquisition/learning of *ni* passives and suggested possible benefit of focusing learners' attention to the meanings and function of *ni* passives, let us now turn to the issue of the type of instruction that is likely to be efficient and effective in establishing the form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives.

5. Implications for the present study

We have argued that form-meaning and function connections are fundamental for learning of *ni* passives to take place. How can they be efficiently and effectively established in a JFL classroom? As we have seen in Chapter 1, Section 1-3, there are various approaches, including explicit/implicit learning, and focus on form/forms/meaning, which affect the selection of instructional method, classroom activities and so on.

In this study I have adopted explicit explanation of the forms, meanings and function of *ni* passives in teaching for the reasons listed below. Whilst one of the reasons reflects methodological necessity, the other two indicate the potential effectiveness of adopting explicit instruction.

First, the adoption of explicit grammar explanation arises from methodological necessity in the context of the present study, in which it is essential that the learners in the Experimental group associate all instances of *ni* passives with the 'affectivity' meaning and those in the Control group relate PPs and Vi passives with the adversity meaning and DPs with a neutral meaning. If an implicit learning condition had been provided, the learners in the Experimental group, for instance, may have (implicitly) linked the PP and Vi passive forms with the adversity meaning and could not have been differentiated from those in the Control group. This would have made a comparison of the provision of two different kinds of metalinguistic (explicit) knowledge impossible.

Secondly, explicit grammar explanation seems to be most effective in assisting learners to overcome or even avoid the use of DPs in place of PPs, such as

- (12) ?*Watasi-no asi-ga hum-are-ta*
 my foot-Nom step on-Pass-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this).

Recall that Tanaka (1996, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) pointed out that this was a common problem for learners with various L1s and some of them even showed fossilisation or stabilisation at this stage. Explicit instruction can provide negative evidence/feedback for the inappropriate use of DPs where PPs are expected.

Gass (1997, pp. 143-145) correctly points out, in quoting the work of Trahey & White (1993) and White (1991) on the development of adverb placement by French children learning English, that negative evidence (that S + V + Adv + O is ungrammatical) may be necessary to show the ungrammaticality of an L2 form that is grammatical in L1. White's (1991) study revealed positive effects of explicit instruction on adverbs, although the effects were not long lasting. Gass (1997) concludes that reinforcement of what is being learned by means of additional focused evidence is needed.

A similar case is found in the use of DPs such as '?My foot was stepped on...' ²¹ by NSs of Chinese, which is both grammatical and natural in their L1. It can be said, following the above observation, that negative evidence/feedback is necessary for these learners. DP utterances as the above will almost certainly never appear ²² in the input available to learners and if left to their own devices, they would have no way of knowing whether this is because these forms are highly deviant or because they are perfectly appropriate but have simply not occurred in the input. Explicit explanation regarding these DPs certainly seems to be beneficial for learning PPs and may also enable learners to overcome the observed fossilisation or stabilisation, or better still, avoid such a stage altogether.

If we go a step further, a similar, if not as strong, claim may be made about the use of actives instead of certain DPs. For instance, for describing a situation in which the speaker was scolded by his/her teacher after forgetting to do his/her homework, it is more common to use the *ni* passive than the active (see the data from the NSs in Chapter 5, Section 3). Although, unlike the negative evidence regarding the use of DPs instead of PPs, learners may obtain this information in input eventually, it

²¹ However, unlike in White's (1991) example, this sentence is not ungrammatical.

²² In both Tanaka's and my experiments, (almost) none of the NSs used the DP ?*Watasi-no asi-ga humareta* (?My foot was stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this).

would certainly seem more efficient to tell them that the *ni* passive is preferred over the active and why.

The third reason for adopting explicit instruction relates to raising learners' awareness to motivate them to use *ni* passives. In Chapter 2, Section 3-3, I discussed the communicative function of *ni* passives in relation to the implications or consequences of inappropriate use or non-use of *ni* passives²³. Knowledge of this kind is crucial because it can affect learners in their long-term interpersonal relationships with their interlocutors and more widely in terms of language socialisation (see Chapter 2, Section 4-3). Whilst it can be argued that the semantic impact of *ni* passives described earlier can be created both by implicit and explicit instruction, it seems that explicit, straightforward explanation would be most effective for teaching the communicative factors mentioned above because, crucially, it involves learners' awareness regarding what may happen if they use or do not use *ni* passives in certain contexts. Awareness of this kind can best be raised by means of explicit explanation.

One of the challenges for both learners and teachers is the long-term retention of learning. This is especially true because in some studies explicit knowledge has been observed to be forgotten quickly (Lightbown et al 1993, Spada & Lightbown 1993; see also Doughty 2004). This can pose a serious problem for JFL learners who only have a limited amount of exposure to the TL. The above-mentioned semantic impact, supported by motivation (that can be enhanced by emphasising communicative effects and interpersonal implications caused by the use and non-use of *ni* passives), may provide learners with better chances of internalising the appropriate use of *ni* passives and their long-term retention.

This study attempts to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the teaching of *ni* passives by explicitly bringing to the learners' attention the form-meaning and function connections between *ni* passive forms (the passive subject, morpheme and particles) and the 'affectivity' meaning and pragmatic considerations/functions regarding the communicative and interpersonal implications. The effectiveness of this approach was tested against the Control group of learners who were taught

²³ As we have seen in Chapter 2, Section 3-3, inappropriate use of *ni* passives (and encoding of an annoyance meaning) such as in describing that your boss has broken something belonging to you may give rise to the impression that the learner is being impolite; on the other hand, non-use of it (and non-encoding of the negative meaning), in describing an incident of a theft, for instance, can lead to the impression that the learner is being

multiple types of passives (DPs, PPs and Vi passives) and their meanings, as well as the difference between the active and the passive in the viewpoint from which a description is made²⁴.

Manipulated input in the form of explicit explanation of the meanings and function of *ni* passives can alert/orient learners to pay attention to these forms with increased focus in subsequent input, and provide useful information for decision making when they develop uncertainty as to whether or not to use the *ni* passive, as I argued in Chapter 1.

As we have seen, a crucial step towards the acquisition/learning of the appropriate use of *ni* passives is to establish connections between *ni* passive forms and the 'affectivity' meaning, as well as their function of presenting a personal description of an event. Once these connections have been integrated into the learner's grammar, the choice of the *ni* passive rests on his/her recognition of the need to encode the information that the passive subject was 'affected' by the described event. Limiting the discussion to the first person singular (i.e., the speaker) as the subject, the learner needs to realise that it is more natural to present an 'affective' event as something that has happened to and 'affected' him/her in some way (positively or negatively or anywhere in between) and that this can be achieved by using the *ni* passive form (passive subject, verbal form and particles). Obviously, some of the learners may not want to sound emotional in their descriptions in certain cases. However, whilst it is up to the learners to select what to encode in their utterances and the teacher certainly cannot force them to use *ni* passives, it is imperative that they are made aware of the consequences of the use and non-use of *ni* passives as discussed above²⁵. Thus, it is important that they establish the form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives regardless of whether or not they actually choose to use them depending on the context and their intentions.

One of the eventual goals of instruction is to enable learners to assess the situation at hand and to select the *ni* passive in consideration of factors such as their communicative needs and goals, and their interpersonal relationships with their

impersonal.

²⁴ Viewpoint is another important factor in complex/compound sentences and in discourse, in which non-use of the passive results in lack of coordination of the subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (see e.g., Tanaka 1996). What I am claiming here is that semantic and pragmatic information may play a more crucial role in learning/acquisition than viewpoint. This claim will be examined in the light of empirical data in Chapter 6.

²⁵ Needless to say, this is also necessary in utterance comprehension, in which one of the learners' tasks is to

interlocutors etc. This can assist learners to integrate into the language community, as I argued in Chapter 2, Section 4-3.

6. Research questions and predictions/hypotheses

On the basis of the considerations set out in Chapters 1 to 3, the following research questions were formed and predictions or hypotheses made:

Research Question 1

Do ni passives present a particular area of difficulty for JFL learners, and especially those in a group with no instruction regarding the 'affectivity' meaning of ni passives, as suggested in the literature?

Hypothesis 1

Japanese *ni* passives are difficult. Most learners (especially in a group with no instruction regarding the 'affectivity' meaning of *ni* passives) will not be able to use them in target items in the experiments where they are expected.

Research Question 2: Do NSs encode their feelings in describing 'affective' events by using ni passives (or ni passives + te simau/tyau (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) for negative situations)?

Hypothesis 2

(a) NSs will use the *ni* passive with the first person pronoun '*watasi* (I)' for all the target items, which are presented as having emotionally 'affected' them;

(b) The *ni* passive with the first person pronoun '*watasi* (I)' will sometimes be combined with *te simau/tyau* for negative situations, to add a sense of regret, misfortune, inconvenience and/or unintentionality.

Research Question 3: Does teaching ni passives in terms of 'affectivity' lead to more successful production of these forms than teaching DPs as neutral and PPs and Vi passives as adversative?

Hypothesis 3

(a) explaining *ni* passives in terms of a single core notion of 'affectivity' will result in an increase in the number of learners who produce these forms than teaching

recognise the speaker's intention.

multiple types of *ni* passives;

(b) explaining *ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity' will result in an increase in the number of test items for which the learners use *ni* passives. In other words, this approach will lead to production of *ni* passives to a larger extent than the notion of adversity.

Research Question 4: Are there certain forms that the learners produce that can be regarded as intermediate forms in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives and how can the production of these forms be explained in cognitive terms?

Hypothesis 4

(a) Some of the intermediate forms observed in the previous studies described in Section 2-2 will appear in the utterances of the learners in the present study. This includes the combinations of passive verbal forms and the active particles, such as *Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) Pass (the 'First Noun Principle in Production'), and the combinations of active verbal forms and the passive particles;

(b) The intermediate forms that may appear in the first posttest after the instructional treatment (see Chapter 4, Section 2-2), such as the use of the passive verb with active particles and vice versa, will decrease in Posttest 2, as they are replaced by the correct forms, with the learners' improved proficiency and exposure to the TL;

(c) The appearance of the DP, such as ?*Watasi-no asi-ga humareta* (My foot was stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this) instead of the PP, such as *Watasi-wa asi-o humareta* (I had my foot stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this), which Tanaka (e.g., 2000, 2004, 2005a) claims to be an intermediate form in the course of learning to produce PPs, is less likely. This is because this form was taught as deviant to the learners in both groups. That is, the provision of this negative evidence will lead to successful avoidance of this form.

Research Question 5: Is long-term retention of the use of *ni* passives possible?

Hypothesis 5

(a) If the explicit knowledge provided in the instructional treatment has an impact on the learners (see Section 4-2), it will be retained until the second posttest (nine months after the instructional treatment), and possibly longer. This impact is both semantic, in terms of the meanings of *ni* passives and communicative, in terms of

their function (see Chapter 2, Section 3-3). Such impact may be reflected in the metalinguistic comments learners make;

(b) if the instruction does not give such an impact on the learners, retention or even learning of *ni* passives will remain difficult, as observed in the previous studies.

Research Question 6: What factors affect learning of *ni* passives?

Hypothesis 6

(a) instruction of *ni* passives assists learning of these forms. However, the degree to which instruction facilitates learning will differ depending on the contents of teaching or on what aspects of *ni* passives the learners' attention is focused, as specified in Research Question 3 above;

(b) the learners' L1 and/or L2 will affect learning. This is particularly the case when the language in question has a construction that is similar to the Japanese *ni* passive (see Tanaka 2000, 2004, 2005a, for instance);

(c) explanation of communicative consequences of non-use of *ni* passives provided in the instructional treatment will motivate the learners to learn to use these forms, and such motivation may be reflected in the metalinguistic comments the learners make;

(d) exposure to the TL in Japan will facilitate learning, especially for the Experimental group, and fluent use of *ni* passives by providing input and opportunities to use them in the TL community.

In the next chapter, I shall outline the method used in testing the theoretical issues raised in the last three chapters by means of the experiments I have conducted. The method of instruction, in which *ni* passives were taught by means of explicit explanation, will also be explained.

Chapter 4: Method

Having discussed the issue of how learning of *ni* passives might be made effective, and suggested the type of instruction that seems to be facilitative for learning, let us now turn to the issue of how this can be achieved by means of classroom instruction. In this study, I have manipulated the input that learners receive, and attempted to make salient the semantic and pragmatic factors regarding *ni* passives that I have claimed to be crucial in the appropriate interpretation and production of *ni* passives. More precisely, when teaching the learners in the Experimental group, the notion of 'affectivity' was foregrounded for all the presented instances of *ni* passives, whether they were the DP, the PP or the Vi passive types. This was contrasted with a Control group, who received a more traditional approach of teaching multiple types of *ni* passives. The learners' progress in both groups was observed longitudinally for a period of approximately two years. Comparisons were also made on the basis of passive forms used by a group of native speakers.

1. Subjects

1-1. Native speakers

Spoken data designed to elicit *ni* passives were collected from ten (five male and five female) NSs of Japanese. Their backgrounds were similar to those of the learners in that this group contained nine university students and one research assistant in the English Department of Seijo University in Tokyo. Their ages ranged between twenty and twenty-five years, which was similar to the ages of the learners.

1-2. Non-native speakers

The NNS subjects were seventeen students of the University of Reading, who at the time of the study were reading BA degree courses with Japanese as a minor subject. Their main subjects were Economics, Fine Art, French, German, History, International Management, Italian, Linguistics, Music and Philosophy. Table 1 sets out their background details:

Table 1. NNS subject details

Learner code	Sex	Group	Year of entry to university	L1 (and L2)	Time spent in Japan
ExC1	male	Experimental	1999	Chinese (Cantonese)	two semesters
ExC2	female			Chinese (Shanghainese)	two semesters
ExC(E)3	female			L1: Chinese (Cantonese) L2: English	two semesters
ExE4	female			English (limited spoken Chinese (Cantonese))	two semesters
ExE5	female			English	two semesters
ExG/E6	male			Gujarati/English bilingual	two semesters
ExE(Fr)7	male			L1: English (USA) L2: French	two semesters
ExE8	female			English	one semester + previous stay (two months' home stay)
ExE9	female		1998	English	two semesters
ExE10	female			English	one semester + previous stay (up to five months in total on holiday)
ConC/E1	female	Control	2001	Chinese (Cantonese)/English bilingual	two semesters
ConC/E2	male			Chinese (Cantonese)/English bilingual	two semesters
ConE3	male			English	two semesters
ConGer (E)4	male			L1: German L2: English	two semesters
ConE5	female			English	one semester + previous stay (six months' work experience)
ConE6	female		2000	English	one semester + Japanese class during the Period Abroad in Germany
ConE7	female			English	one semester + Japanese class during the Period Abroad in Germany

* There was misunderstanding regarding this learner's L1, and consequently the Pretest and Posttest 1 were conducted in Mandarin, instead of Shanghainese.

Each learner has been assigned a learner code that contains information regarding the group (Experimental/Control) and L1, which is followed by a number (e.g., 'ExE5' denotes learner No. 5 in the Experimental group, whose L1 is English). Bilinguals are indicated by 'L1/L2', where they speak the two languages (more or less) equally, or 'L1 (L2)', where they have indicated that they were more comfortable communicating in L1 than in L2. (e.g., 'ConGer(E)4' for the learner No. 4 in the Control group who speaks German as L1 and English as L2, with the former being his/her dominant language).

Depending on their main subject, the learners spent one semester (four to five months) or two semesters (approximately ten months) in Japan studying at a Japanese university in Tokyo in their third year (the Period Abroad), and returned to Reading to complete their final year. There were five learners who spent only one semester in Japan, two of whom were in the Experimental group and three in the Control group; they were studying French, German or Italian as the main subject and spent the Autumn and Spring Terms (October to March) in France, Germany or Italy respectively, and the Spring Semester (April to July) in Japan. The structure of their degree programmes did not allow these learners to go to Japan first and this resulted in an interruption of the continuity of studying Japanese. However, the two learners in the Control group continued to take a Japanese course in Germany, and the other three learners (two in the Experimental group and one in the Control group) had previously stayed in Japan between two and five months. It is possible that this compensated for the interruption in Europe, at least to some extent. Also, these learners' proficiency levels at the time of the Pretest and during the Period Abroad in Japan provide justification for the decision not to drop these learners from analysis. See Chapter 6, Section 4-5 for more details.

The learners' L1s were mostly English or Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese or Shanghainese). However, there were bilinguals in English and Chinese (Cantonese)/French/German/Gujarati. Given the small total number of the subjects, it was not possible to control for learners' L1 and no generalisations regarding the influence of L1 can be made. However, reference will be made to knowledge of languages other than the TL, where there is some evidence that this may have influenced learning.

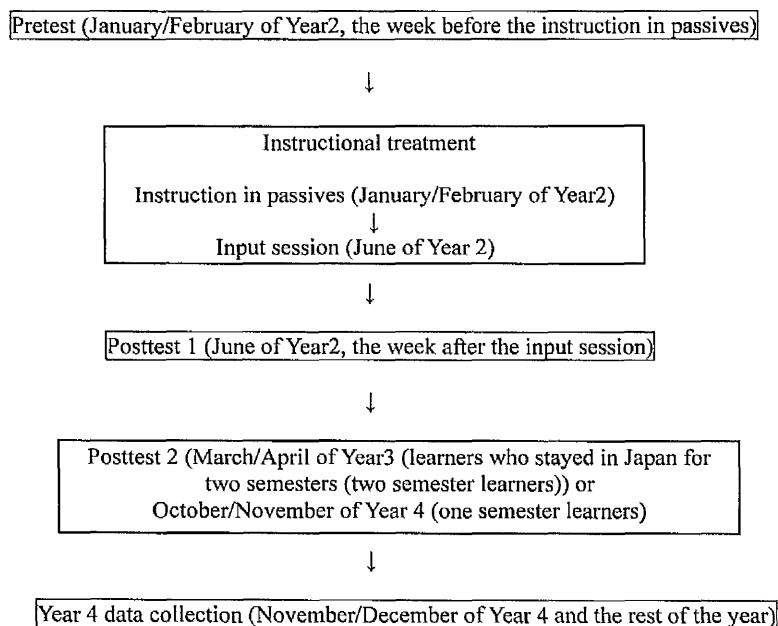
All the subjects stayed in their same groups during their three years (Year 1, Year 2 and Year 4) at the University of Reading, which ensured that the differences in the input they received in class were reduced to a minimum. All of these learners volunteered to be included in the research project and a small reward (a dictionary or an exercise book) was offered. However, those with an expected attendance problem were excluded from the study, and those who subsequently showed a poor attendance record were excluded from the analysis. In order to secure the required number of subjects, the subjects who entered the university in 1998 (Entry 1998 group) and in 1999 (Entry 1999 group) were allocated to the Experimental group,

and those who entered in 2000 (Entry 2000) and 2001 (Entry 2001) formed the Control group. It was not possible, in terms of the academic teaching schedule, to run both groups concurrently in any year.

2. Materials and Procedure

The subjects' learning progress was checked over the period of approximately two years starting from January/February of their second year through to December of their fourth year. I provided all the instructional treatment to all the learners and acted as the interviewer for all of the oral tests. The learners' use of *ni* passives was examined in a series of two experiments following a pretest and the instructional treatment, and through additional collection of spoken data in the final year. The Pretest was conducted to establish that the learners were unable to produce *ni* passives in an oral interview task and to check the comparability of the two learner groups. It was originally designed to have an oral picture description task that had the same format as the posttests (see below), and a written questionnaire, in which the learners were asked to make judgements about the meanings and usages of five English sentences, and translate them into Japanese and other languages they knew well. However, the questionnaire was subsequently excluded from the analysis because of a possible design problem. Specifically, it contained sentences like 'The vase was broken', which may have been interpreted as stative by some of the learners, and hence would not successfully examine the use of the passive. The instructional treatment took the form of a grammar lesson and an additional short input session later in the term. In the grammar class, the learners in the Experimental group were taught *ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity', and those in the Control group were taught multiple types of *ni* passives (see below for more details). In the input session, *ni* passives were re-introduced in relation to *te simau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives, with an emphasis on the emotional meanings for the Experimental group and the deictic meanings for the Control group (see below for more details). These were followed by two posttests using picture description tasks, and further data collection via oral tasks (a picture description task, prepared speech(es) and some spontaneous speech) in the Year 4. Figure 1 summarises the procedures:

Figure 1. Summary of procedures



The following sections describe the details of the materials and procedures adopted at each stage of the empirical investigation.

2-1. The Pretest

The Pretest (as also for the two posttests) consisted of an oral picture description task in which the learners were asked to look at a set of picture cards (see Appendix A) and to describe the situations depicted on each card to a close friend¹. Each card had a picture of the learner placed in a situation that was described as having affected their feelings, that is, made him/her sad, happy, annoyed and so on. It also contained a short list of the required vocabulary, to reduce the burden of recalling words and to encourage use of certain words to increase the comparability of data obtained from different subjects. No time limit was set. The test items included various types of *ni* passives and the breakdown of these items in the Pretest is shown in Table 2:

¹ Items containing as an addressee a family member or the wife of a person who has caused a nuisance to the speaker were dropped from analysis (see Section 3-1).

Table 2. The Pretest: details of the oral production task items

Type of passive	DP ¹ Number of items (verbs)	PP	ViPass	Distractor	Total
Test items in Pretest	3 (2) <i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive) <i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative) <i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	2 <i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) <i>Wareru/waru</i> (to break: Vi/Vt)	0	2	7

i. The verb *Iu* was tested in two different contexts, one with a positive comment in the complement clause as in *Yasasii to iwareta* (I was told 'You are kind'), and the other with a negative comment as in *Iziwaruda to iwareta* (I was told 'You are mean').

Since some of the learners may not have been familiar with the task, they were first given two example pictures, and asked to describe the situations in writing. These pictures were similar to the test items, but not designed to elicit *ni* passives. This was followed by a set of seven pictures that included various affective situations, as well as distractors. For these items, the learners were asked to describe what had happened orally, first in Japanese, followed by English to make sure that the learners had understood the situations depicted in the pictures, and finally using any other L1 where this was not English, or L2 where relevant. The oral productions in all languages were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis².

2-2. Instruction in passives

The instructional treatment was provided in two parts. First, a grammar class was provided in Week 13 or Week 14 of the second year (Week 43 or Week 44 from the beginning of the first year). Care was taken to make the class appear as similar as possible to any other grammar class so that the learners might not notice that this class was part of a research project. Towards the end of the second year after the causative had been taught, around Week 28, an additional input session on *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives was provided in order to differentiate the two groups further. As in any other class there were absentees, and these were provided with a session to compensate for the missed lesson as soon as possible. No group differentiation was made in other lessons in activities such as drills, listening, conversation, reading and writing. However, it was expected that the two groups of learners would make use of the information provided in the grammar class for each

² The transcription of the languages other than Japanese and English was only conducted where it was judged to be necessary (e.g., when a learner explicitly referred to a language other than English as having assisted learning of Japanese *ni* passives).

group when engaging in these activities. The main purpose of the present study was to test the effects of explicit information regarding the forms, meanings and function of *ni* passives provided in the grammar class and the input session. Also, the first posttest did not take place until the second part of the instructional treatment (the input session). This is because having another test of the same format just after the grammar class would have meant giving four similar tests, and this might have resulted in practice effects, allowing the learners to perform better as they developed familiarity with the task.

2-2-1. Grammar class

Passives were taught using the main course book *Minna no Nihongo syokyu II: honsatu* and its accompanying translation & grammatical notes (*Minna no Nihongo syokyu II: honyaku, bunpoo kaisetu Eigo-ban (Translation & grammatical notes)*). This textbook is based on a typical structural, synthetic syllabus and each chapter contains a few grammatical points as the target structures. Both *ni* passives and *ni yotte* passives³ appear in Lesson 37. As this textbook excludes Vi passives, explanation of these passives was added in class. This was necessary because one of the purposes of the experiments was to test the effects of teaching the notion of 'affectivity' on the production of all instances of *ni* passives including Vi passives. In presenting *ni* passives using this material, special care was taken to differentiate the two groups in the instructional treatment, as summarised below. See also Appendix E for the outline of the grammar lesson.

Control group: DPs are semantically neutral and synonymous with their active counterparts, and reflect different viewpoints from which an event is described. Also, PPs⁴ and Vi passives have adversity or negative meanings and are used when describing an event that annoyed the grammatical subject.

Experimental group: All instances of *ni* passives carry the meaning that the grammatical subject (topic) was affected by the event. The person who was affected by the event should be focused and treated as the subject/topic of the sentence, since s/he is the most important participant. Actives do not encode feelings (such as annoyance and affectedness) in the same way as *ni* passives do, and the use

³ The textbook does not use these technical terms.

⁴ The technical term 'possessor passive' was not introduced to the learners, following the textbook.

of the active such as ?*Dareka-ga watasi-no asi-o hunda* (Someone stepped on my foot) is strange when it is used instead of the PP.

Both groups were taught the following points:

- (1) The use of the DP (?*Watasi-no asi-ga humareta* (My foot was stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this)) instead of the PP (*Watasi-wa asi-o humareta* (I had my foot stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this)) is anomalous;
- (2) If it is judged to be better to hide one's feelings for politeness reasons (such as when talking about having one's computer broken by one's boss to him/her or his/her close friend), the use of *ni* passives should be avoided;
- (3) If it is judged to be better to express one's feelings, the passive should be used. A differentiation was made between the two groups in that all instances of *ni* passives were associated with the 'affectivity' meaning (including annoyance) with the Experimental group, and PPs and Vi passives with the adversity meaning with the Control group.

The grammar class was supplemented with drills, conversation, listening, reading and writing classes, in which passives were further practiced on. No further differentiation in the instructional treatment was made in these classes.

2-2-2. Input session on *ni* passives, *te simau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently/unintentionally) and benefactives

An additional input session on 'Communication: the Japanese style' (Experimental group) or 'Viewpoint in Japanese' (Control group) was provided towards the end of the second year, after the introduction of causatives. Delaying this input session allowed for examination of the use of passives in relation to other constructions that had previously been taught. The purpose of this session was to relate the three previously taught constructions that are used to express one's affective stances, *ni* passives, the *te simau* construction and benefactives, and to further differentiate the two groups in the instructional treatment. The differentiation was made in the manner summarised below. See Appendix F for the outline of the input session.

Control group: *Ni* passives and benefactives reflect a different viewpoint from actives. *Ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives additionally encode feelings of annoyance, regret and misfortune, and gratitude respectively. The use of the benefactive *te kureru* (to 'give' a favour of doing something) and *te morau* (to receive a

favour of doing something), and the choice between the active and passive verb reflect the direction of an action and making a wrong choice leads to a serious communication problem.

Experimental group: All of the three constructions, *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives, describe the event from the point of view of the person who experienced it and they encode his/her feelings. This person is the most important participant of the event. Not using the appropriate form, when it is judged to be more appropriate to express one's feelings, can give an impression that one is being ungrateful, too objective, indifferent and cold. These feelings must be expressed by appropriate linguistic forms in Japanese.

These explanations were followed by a short practice of the three forms with an emphasis on viewpoint from which an event is described for the Control group and the emotional meanings for the Experimental group. The learners were provided with handouts at the beginning of the session that contained the explanations of the above mentioned forms as well as the practice that reflected different approaches adopted for the two groups. They were encouraged to continue studying these handouts.

2-3. Posttest 1

The first posttest was conducted during the week following the input session. The purpose of this test was to examine

- (1) if and how much the learners had integrated *ni* passives into their grammars and whether they could produce them in this particular test;
- (2) if there were any potentially intermediate forms that might reflect one stage of learning to produce these passives;
- (3) whether there was any evidence of factors that may have affected learning (e.g., L1, metalinguistic knowledge).

The following tasks were conducted for each group.

2-3-1. The oral production task

The format of this test was the same as the Pretest, except that no practice pictures were used this time, since the learners were expected to be familiar with the task. Table 3 shows the items used:

Table 3. Posttest 1: details of the oral production task items

Type of passive	DP ⁱ Number of items (verbs)	PP	ViPass	Distractor	Total
Test items in Posttest 1	4 (3) <i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive) <i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative) <i>Warau</i> (to laugh) <i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	6 (4) ⁱⁱ <i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) <i>Humu</i> (to step on) <i>Wareru/waru</i> (to break: Vi/Vt) <i>Yomu/miru</i> (to read/look at)	0	3	13 ⁱⁱⁱ

i. The verb *Iu* was tested in two different contexts, one with a positive comment in the complement clause as in *Kakkoii/hansamuda* (for males)/*kawaii/kireida* (for females) *to iwareta* (I was told 'You are good-looking/handsome (for males)/cute/pretty (for females)'), and the other with a negative comment as in *Kiraida to iwareta* (I was told 'I don't like you').

ii. The verbs *wareru/waru* and *yomu/miru* were tested in two different contexts with different addressees (a close friend and the wife of the person who broke the speaker's cup for the former, and a close friend and the speaker's mother for the latter).

iii. Initially, there were two additional items (*wareru/waru* with two different addressees). However, they were dropped in the course of the experiments as it became clear that they were very similar to two other items testing the use of the same verbs in the same test.

2-3-2. Follow-up session

A follow-up session was conducted where necessary and feasible, in order to clarify any ambiguities that occurred during the oral production task. This mostly arose from non-use of the verbs that the learners had been instructed to use in the English version of the test. When this happened, the learners were asked to do the relevant items of the task again later in writing in class.

After Posttest 1, the subjects went to Japan on their Period Abroad Programme. Those who were going to study for two semesters normally left in September, and those whose main subject was another language (French, German or Italian) went to Japan around the end of March or the beginning of April to study for one semester, following the first part of their Period Abroad in Europe (France, Germany or Italy) as required by their degree programmes.

2-4. Posttest 2

The second posttest was conducted after the learners had spent one semester in Japan and a vacation period. Thus, for the learners who studied there for two semesters, this test took place about six months after their arrival in Japan. For those who had one semester only in Japan, Posttest 2 was conducted on their return to Reading and a few weeks after they had returned to the class. This was necessary since the learners might not have had exposure to Japanese during the summer. Ideally, they should have been tested in Japan, as was the case with subjects who had

two semesters there. However, this was not possible for practical reasons (i.e., the availability of the interviewer).

The purpose of Posttest 2 was to test

- (1) whether there were any prominent differences between the two groups of learners as a whole, who had been initially taught *ni* passives in the two different ways;
- (2) whether the learners who produced or tried to produce *ni* passives in Posttest 1 had retained or improved their abilities after exposure to the TL in Japan;
- (3) whether and how the intermediate forms observed in Posttest 1 changed, or whether intermediate forms that appeared in Posttest 2 were similar to those observed in Posttest 1, as well as in the previous studies (e.g., Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004);
- (4) whether there was any evidence of factors that may have affected learning (e.g., L1, metalinguistic knowledge).

Each group of learners engaged in the following tasks.

2-4-1. The oral production task

The format of this task was the same as for the Pretest and Posttest 1. Table 4 shows the details of the test items used in Posttest 2:

Table 4. Posttest 2: details of the oral production task items

Type of passive	DP ⁱⁱ Number of items (verbs)	PP	ViPass	Distractor	Total
Test items in Posttest 2 ⁱ	6 (5) <i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off) <i>iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive) <i>iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative) <i>Homeru</i> (to praise) <i>Tataku</i> (to hit) <i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	6 (4) ⁱⁱⁱ <i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) <i>Humu</i> (to step on) <i>yabureru/yaburu</i> (to tear/to become torn) <i>wareru/waru</i> (to break: Vi/Vt)	1 <i>naku</i> (to cry)	5	18 ^{iv}

i. With the learner ExC1, there was an interruption between the Japanese version of the test, and the English and Chinese (Cantonese) versions, due to the problem with the availability of this learner.

ii. The verb *iu* was tested in two different contexts, one with a positive comment in the complement clause as in *Omosiroi to iwareta* (I was told 'You are great fun to be with'), and the other with a negative comment as in *Tumaranai to iwareta* (I was told 'You are boring').

iii. The verbs *yabureru/yaburu* and *wareru/waru* were tested in two different contexts with different addressees (a close friend and the wife of the person who tore a page of the speaker's book for the former, and a close friend and the wife of the person who broke the speaker's CD for the latter).

iv. Initially, there were two additional items (*yomu/miru* (to read/look at) with two different addressees). However, they were dropped in the course of the experiments due to inconsistent results from the NS baseline group.

2-4-2. Follow-up session

As with Posttest 1, a follow-up session was carried out where necessary and feasible, in order to clarify any ambiguities occurring during the oral production task. This included cases like a learner making comments on his/her performance of the task (e.g., stating that s/he had wanted to use passives but could not). However, due to the problem of the availability of the interviewer or the learners after Posttest 2, this was conducted just after or as part of Posttest 2.

2-5. Other spoken data from Year 4

The data from the final year back in Reading were collected where possible to test the issue of retention of the use of *ni* passives after the learners had returned to a JFL environment. This was not observed to be possible for the small number of the subjects in Tanaka (1996). These data consist of the following:

2-5-1. Prepared speech(es) in Japanese

The topic of the speech was '*Watasi-no kiraina mono* (Something I do not like)'. All the learners except for ExE9 and ExE10⁵ additionally gave a speech on '*Saiaku-no hi* (The worst day of my life)'. These topics were selected because it was expected that elicitation of *ni* passives would be easier when the learners were asked to talk about something negative.

This task was administered towards the end of the Autumn Term in the final year. The learners were provided with the topic a week in advance to prepare their speech. They were not allowed to read out the script of their speech. The speeches were tape-recorded and the relevant parts transcribed.

2-5-2. Role-play in Japanese

The learners were asked to look at a picture of their flat that had just been burgled and describe this incident to their close friend. Here again, it was expected that the use of *ni* passives, and in particular *nusum-are-ru/tor-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast), would be observed in describing an upsetting incident of theft. This test was also administered towards the end of the Autumn Term in the final year, just after one of

⁵ The second speech was added for the Entry 1999 group and thereafter because the first topic did not always elicit *ni* passives as much as initially expected.

the two speeches mentioned above. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

2-5-3. Spontaneous speech

Where possible, a sample of the learners' spontaneous speech was collected by asking them if they (or their friend) had experienced a burglary. The available data were used to check if those learners who had used *musum-are-ru/tor-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) in Posttest 2 continued to do so in their spontaneous speech after returning to a JFL environment in the Year 4.

2-6. Data from Japanese native speakers

Data were collected from ten NSs of Japanese to examine which forms they used in describing the same pictures as used with the learners. For this purpose, a Japanese version of the Oral Production Task was conducted containing all the pictures used in the Pretest, Posttest 1 and Posttest 2, and the burglary Role-play. Ideally, these tests should have been carried out prior to those with the learners so that the relevance of the test items for the purpose of eliciting *ni* passives could be pre-determined, and any items that were judged as not reliably eliciting these forms could be excluded. However, this was not possible for practical reasons (that is, the availability of the subjects and the interviewer) and some of the data collection from the Experimental group preceded that from the NSs. Table 5 shows the timing of the experiments:

Table 5. Timetable of the tasks

Group (Year of entry) (n)	Task	Date of administration
Learners (1998) (n = 2)	Pretest Posttest 1 Posttest 2 Year 4 speech & role-play	January 2000 June 2000 April 2001 (two term learners)/ October 2001 (one term learners) December 2001
Learners (1999) (n = 8)	Pretest Posttest 1 ⁱ Posttest 2 Year 4 speech & role-play	January/February 2001 June 2001 April 2002 (two term learners)/ October 2002 (one term learners) November/December 2002
Learners (2000) (n = 2)	Pretest Posttest 1 Posttest 2 Year 4 speech & role-play	January 2002 June 2002 November 2003 (one term learners ⁱⁱ) November/December 2003
Learners (2001) (n = 5)	Pretest Posttest 1 Posttest 2 Year 4 speech & role-play	January 2003 June 2003 March/April 2004 (two term learners)/ October 2004 (one term learners) November/December 2004
NSs (n = 10)	All the items from Pretest Posttest 1 Posttest 2 Year 4 role-play	November 2001

i. One of the learners (ExC(E)3) completed the test slightly later than others, due to an unforeseeable problem.

ii. There were no 'two term learners' in this group.

3. Analysis

After transcription of the spoken data, analysis was carried out as described below.

3-1. Comparison between native and non-native speakers

The learners' performance in the posttests was compared to the results obtained from the NS baseline group, particularly in the use of *ni* passives as opposed to actives. Since the experiments with the NSs took place later than some of the experiments with the learners (see Table 5 above), the analysis of the performance of the NS group was delayed. Consequently, the test items that were judged as inappropriate for the purpose of eliciting *ni* passives (less than 80% of uses by NSs) were dropped from further analysis. Also, the confusion the learners exhibited in the use of intransitive and transitive verbs, such as the production of **ware-rare-ru* (to break: Vi/Vt?-Pass-Nonpast), made analysis of these verbs very difficult. Consequently, these items were also excluded from the analysis. The items excluded for the above-mentioned two reasons include *yomu/miru* (to read/look at) and *wareru/waru* (to break: Vi/Vt) in Posttest 1 and *yabureru/yaburu* (to become torn/tear), *wareru/waru* and *naku* (to cry) in Posttest 2. This means that the use of the Vi

passive was excluded from the analysis. However, mention will be made of those learners who produced Vi passives, in the discussion of the data in Chapter 6.

3-2. The Pretest

3-2-1. Previous knowledge of Japanese passives

The results of the Pretest were used to establish that the learners could not produce passives in the oral production task prior to the instructional treatment.

3-2-2. Comparability of the two learner groups

The Pretest results were also used to check the comparability of the two learner groups, that is, to make sure that the Experimental group did not have an overall higher proficiency than the Control group. This is important when the argument being made is that any superior performance of the Experimental group is attributable to the instructional treatment.

To compare the proficiency levels of the two groups, all the learners' utterances were scored for accuracy in the use of the particles on the agent, patient, experiencer and the possessor, and in the use of the verbal forms. Since some of the learners produced longer utterances, in more detailed descriptions of the pictures, than others, it was necessary to limit the marking to the core elements such as the agent, patient and so on, so that those learners who made more errors in longer utterances were not unduly penalised. Since passives had not been taught at the time of the Pretest, the use of grammatically well-formed actives such as *Doroboo-ga kamera-o nusunda* (The thief stole my camera) were regarded as correct⁶. For the production of *Ag-ni*, combined with an active verb, a partial mark was given, since the argument in the present study is that the use of this particle reflects departure from the cognitive conceptualisation of the event as the active and possibly towards the passive⁷. One point was given for the correct use of the particles and another point was added for the correct use of the verb. Half a point (0.5) was given to cases in which the learner

⁶ However, the use of the intransitive verb *wareru* (to break: Vi) in

Kuruma-no mado-ga ware-ta
car window-Nom break (Vi)-Past
(My car window broke)

for a description of a situation in which a naughty child intentionally broke the speaker's car window with a stick is inappropriate for the situation and was given the mark of zero.

⁷ This does not seem to be a problem since accepting *Ag-ni* as correct in the Pretest gave, if anything, a higher score to the Experimental group, thus reducing the potential for effective improvement in their posttest scores.

included an unnecessary argument that caused ungrammaticality of the utterance and also in other cases, where there was some ambiguity, such as when the past tense verbal ending was judged to be inaudible. Also, since it has been argued in Chapter 3, Section 4 that learners tend to represent the agent or the (topicalised) grammatical subject as the first noun in their utterances, half a point was added for this. There was no penalty for errors in reading the characters from the vocabulary list, such as reading *nusumu* (to steal) as **nesumu*, since what was considered important was the production of passive verbal forms. The purpose of the comparison between the two groups was to establish that the Experimental group did not start at a higher proficiency level than the Control group. In other words, it was necessary to be satisfied that the Control group at the outset was more proficient, or at least similar in proficiency level, compared to the Experimental group, and that this conclusion should not be arrived at as a result of more generous marking for the former group, resulting from experimenter bias. Therefore, special care was taken throughout the marking, to favour the learners in the Experimental group, when uncertainty in scoring occurred. For instance, the learners in the Experimental groups were given points for the use of the non-target verb, used in the correct form, as well as when they were provided with some assistance from the interviewer in the course of producing the correct forms.

Examples of the scoring are as follows:

- (1) Doroboo-wa watasi-no kamera-o nusumi-masi-ta.
 thief-Top my camera-Acc steal-Polite-Past
 (The thief stole my camera.)
 (2 points: 1 for the correct particles and 1 for the correct verb)
- (2) *Doroba-wa kamera-o nusum-u desu.
 thief-Top camera-Acc steal-Polite-Nonpast Cop-Polite
 (1 point: 1 for the correct particles)

In both (1) and (2), the learner used the correct particles on the topic and the direct object. However, since the learner who produced (2) made an error on the verbal form, no point was given for the use of the verb. For *kau* (to buy) and *okuru* (to send), one extra point was added for the use of the benefactive. This is because whilst both the benefactive and non-benefactive utterances are grammatical, the use of the benefactive can be considered as an important ability in learning to use *ni*

passives, in that they both encode feelings, as argued in Chapter 2, Section 4. Examples of the marking of benefactive and non-benefactive constructions are as follows:

- (3) Haha-wa kutu-o kai-masi-ta.
 mother-Top shoes-Acc buy-Polite-Past
 (My mother bought a pair of shoes.)
 (2 points: 1 for the correct particles and 1 for the correct verb)
- (4) Watasi-no haha-wa kutu-o kate kure-masi-ta.
 my mother-Top shoes-Acc buy-Ben: 'give' a favour/do a favour-Polite-Past
 (My mother 'gave' me a favour of/did me a favour by buying (me) a pair of shoes.)
 (3 points: 1 for the correct particles, 1 for the correct verb and 1 for the use of the benefactive)

Neither the results of the test nor feedback was provided to the learners. Following scoring, the standard deviations were checked and a *t*-test conducted on the scores of the two groups to establish that they were comparable. These results will be provided in Chapter 5, Section 4-1.

3-3. Posttests

The data obtained from the two posttests were analysed for the following three categories:

- (1) The forms used by the learners (active, passive, *te simau* and benefactives) after self-corrections where relevant;
- (2) Retracted false starts, self-corrections, pauses and hesitations, in order to examine how the learners initially conceptualised the event and how fluently they could produce their utterances;
- (3) Metalinguistic comments made by the learners, where available, in order to check whether metalinguistic knowledge was useful in making decisions about the forms to be used, and if such knowledge can be regarded as having contributed to the production of these forms.

Categories 2 and 3 provided valuable data on what was happening in the learners' minds in the course of utterance production. Such data are not always available in written data, and are important since they allow for qualitative analysis. The present study is unique in that this is regarded as particularly important in casting light on the issue of the learning of *ni* passives.

In classifying the learners' utterances a number of issues arose for which the following guidelines were developed, in order to ensure that decisions were made consistently and in a principled manner:

(1) Inaccurate verbal forms:

Verbs in the active or passive with morphological errors were treated as attempted productions of the active or passive forms. To this end, the following guidelines were used:

- (a) Verbal forms that could be regarded as passives (such as **hum-ure-masi-ta* and **hu-ere-ta* for *hum-are-masi-ta* (step on-Pass-Polite-Past) and *hum-are-ta* (step on-Pass-Past) respectively) were regarded as correct. What matters in the present study is the learners' attempted production of passives. Therefore, morphological errors were not regarded as significant;
- (b) The following points were checked in judging whether or not a given verbal form was the passive:
 - (i) Whether or not the element or part of the element of the passive verbal form (*r*)*areru* was present. For example, **hum-ure-masi-ta* contains part of the passive verbal form *hum-are-masi-ta* and was therefore regarded as the passive;
 - (ii) Whether metalinguistic comments made by the learner were available to determine if the verbal forms can be regarded as passives. For example, references to the verbal form **war-are-ta* used instead of *waraw-are-ta* (laugh at-Pass-Past) as the passive, and the causative forms as passives were regarded as passives.

(2) The use of particles:

P-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) Ag-*ni* (by) in the DP or Poss-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) Ag-*ni* (by) P-*o* (Acc) in the PP were represented as the production of the passive particles, even when they were used with active verbs. Although the use of these particles does not necessarily mean that the learner intended to produce the *ni* passive, especially if they were simply confused about particles in general, it is also possible that the use of these particles reflects the learner's conceptualisation of the event.

(3) Grammatical and ungrammatical actives:

No differentiation between these was made, as our focus was on passives.

Ungrammatical forms such as *Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*ga* (Nom) *tot-ta* (steal-Past) were represented as the use of the active.

Following the above guidelines, the learners' utterances were classified into the following four categories:

- (1) Appropriate use of *ni* passives (passive verbs and particles);
- (2) Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles;

- (3) Use of active verbs with passive particles or other particles that may reflect conceptualisation of an event that is closer to the passive than the active;
- (4) Use of *te simau/tyau* (regrettably/unfortunately/inconveniently (and sometimes unintentionally)) and benefactives for positive situations.

The changes in the learners' use of forms between Posttest 1 and Posttest 2 were checked and possible production of intermediate forms in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives were noted for analysis. However, it is only the results of Posttest 1 that can be attributed directly to the effects of instructional treatment. Since Posttest 2 was conducted approximately nine months after the instructional input session, and the learners had exposure to the TL in Japan, as well as further instruction at the Japanese exchange university during this time, a direct link cannot be established between improvement in their Posttest 2 performance and the instructional treatment provided in Reading.

3-4. Year 4 data

The data obtained from the fourth year were used to check if the use of *ni* passives observed in Posttest 2 was retained after the learners had returned to the JFL environment. As mentioned above, the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) was examined in the burglary role play and, in some cases, in the spontaneous speech. Some of the other verbs, such as *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and *iu* (to say/tell) were also examined in the data obtained from the prepared speech(es).

In the next chapter, the results obtained from the experiments are presented.

Chapter 5: Results

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present evidence from the empirical testing of the theoretical arguments I have made in the previous chapters. These led to the prediction that it is more effective to teach all instances of *ni* passives in terms of a single notion of 'affectivity', rather than to teach multiple types of passives with DPs as semantically neutral, and PPs and Vi passives as adversative. In order to examine this claim, the results of the empirical investigation will be examined in relation to the hypotheses posed in Chapter 3, Section 6. I shall first compare the overall differences between the NS group and the learners in the Experimental and Control groups, in Section 2. This will be followed by a more detailed analysis of the results obtained, first from the NSs, in Section 3, and then the differences between the two learner groups in the use of individual verbs will be examined. Specifically, in Section 4, I shall first focus on the claim that teaching *ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity' improves learning (Hypotheses 3a & 3b), by comparing the performance of the two learner groups in Posttest 1 in relation to the Pretest. Additionally, Hypothesis 4a will be examined by looking at the forms the learners produced that may be regarded as intermediate forms that appear in the course of learning *ni* passives. This will include the use of passive verbs in combination with active particles, the use of passive-(like) particles with active verbs and the use of *te simau* (regrettably¹) instead of *ni* passives. Section 5 will examine if the tendencies observed in Posttest 1 changed in Posttest 2, and test the hypothesis regarding the possibility of the retention of the use of *ni* passives (Hypotheses 5a & 5b) in Posttest 2 and in the Year 4. Hypotheses 4a & 4b will also be examined by looking at possible intermediate forms that appeared in Posttest 2, as in Section 4. Our purpose here is to set out the results; the detailed discussion of the implications arising, which include the factors that may have affected learning of *ni* passives (Research Question 6, Hypotheses 6a to 6d), will be reserved for the next chapter.

¹ I shall represent the meaning of *te simau/tyau* as 'regrettably' for convenience, unless other meanings are clearly more relevant.

2. The use of *ni* passives by native speakers and the two groups of learners

Table 1 shows the occurrences of *ni* passives with the first person subject used by the NSs and the learners in the Experimental and Control groups, in Posttest 1 and Posttest 2. As I stated in Chapter 4, Section 3-2-1, it is necessary to establish that the learners could not produce *ni* passives orally, before the instructional treatment. Therefore the results of the Pretest are also included in the table. The general overall proficiency of the two groups at the time of the Pretest will be compared in Section 4-1. Since my interest lies in the use of *ni* passives in describing events as having 'affected' the speaker, DPs that occurred with the PP item *nusumu/toru* (to steal) (such as *Tokei-ga torareta* (My watch was stolen)) are excluded.

Table 1. Use of *ni* passives with the first person subject by the two learner groups and NSs

Test item \ Group	NNS: Control (n=7)	NNS: Experimental (n=10)	NNS: All (n=17)	NS (n=10)
Pretest (4 test items)				
Total test items	28	40		
Passive responses (Proportion)	0 (0.000)	0 (0.000)		
Posttest 1 (6 test items)				
Total test items	42	57*	99	60
Passive responses (Proportion)	1 (0.024)	12 (0.211)	13 (0.131)	59 (0.983)
Posttest 2 (8 test items)				
Total test items	56	80	136	80
Passive responses (Proportion)	2 (0.036)	30 (0.375)	32 (0.235)	70 (0.875)
Posttests 1 & 2 (14 test items)				
Total test items	98	137	235	140
Passive responses (Proportion)	3 (0.031)	42 (0.307)	45 (0.191)	129 (0.921)

* There were three invalid responses.

From Table 1, the following observations can be made regarding the use of *ni* passives with the first person subject by NSs and NNSs:

(1) NSs vs. NNSs:

- All NNSs used passives 79.3% less (0.191) than All NSs (0.921). This confirms and quantifies the view that *ni* passives are difficult for learners (Hypothesis 1);
- There is a 79.4% increase in All NNSs' use of passives from Posttest 1 (0.131) to Posttest 2 (0.235), albeit from a low base. This confirms that learners improved under instruction (Hypothesis 6a) and exposure (Hypothesis 6d);
- This is in spite of NSs' performance unexpectedly decreasing from Posttest 1 (0.983) to Posttest 2 (0.875) items (disconfirming Hypothesis 2a). This

may indicate a possible inadvertent reduction in opportunity for use of *ni* passives in Posttest 2 (see below for possible reasons for this);

(2) Control group vs. Experimental group:

- (a) Within the NNSs, the Control group used *ni* passives 89.9% less (0.031) than the Experimental group (0.307). This reflects the overall benefit of the method of instruction used for the Experimental group, confirming Hypotheses 3a, and 3b especially in Posttest 2;
- (b) the Control group show a 50% increase between Posttest 1 (0.024) and Posttest 2 (0.036); reflecting the continuing benefit of learning from instruction (Hypothesis 6a) and ordinary exposure (Hypothesis 6d);
- (c) the Experimental group show nearly a 77.7% increase between Posttest 1 (0.211) and Posttest 2 (0.375); this is in spite of their higher starting point in Posttest 1, and reflects the continuing specific benefit of the method of instruction they received (Hypotheses 3a, 3b (& 6a)), as well as exposure (Hypothesis 6d).

Having examined the overall use of *ni* passives by the NSs and NNSs, let us now focus on the performance of the NSs.

3. Native speakers' use of *ni* passives

Table 2 shows the forms used by the NSs for each verb used in the two posttest items:

Table 2. Posttests 1 and 2: responses to each verb from the NSs (10 subjects)

Test item	Test	Responses	
		Active (max. 10)	<i>ni</i> Passives and variants (max. 10)
<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/ tell off)	T1	0	10 (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> (regrettably): 6)
	T2	0	10 (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 6)
<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) ⁱ	T1	0	8: PP (includes Ag- <i>ni atte</i> : 1) (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 2) (includes Pass + <i>sur-are-te</i> (steal-Pass-Ger) <i>simau</i> : 1) 2: PP (DP?) (use of two sentences: 2) ⁱⁱ
	T2 ⁱⁱⁱ	0	2: PP (includes PP + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 1) 5: PP (DP?) (includes P in subordinate clause: 2) ^{iv} (includes P in subordinate clause + Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 1) (includes use of two sentences + <i>te simau</i> : 1) (includes P Pass with P as the first noun) ^v 2: DP (includes DP + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 1)
<i>Humu</i> (to step on) ^{vi}	T1	0	10 (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 4)
	T2	0	10 (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 2) (includes omitted P + Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 1) ^{vii}
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	T1	0	10 (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 5)
	T2	1	8: DP (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 4) 1: PP
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	T1	0	10 (initial use of *Ag- <i>ga</i> Pass: 1)
	T2	1 (initial use of Ag- <i>ni</i>)	9 (includes Ag- <i>kara</i> : 1) (includes Pass + <i>te simau/tyau</i> : 1)
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	T1	1 (<i>te kureru</i>) (initial use of *Ag- <i>ga</i> Pass)	9 (initial use of *Ag- <i>ga</i> Pass: 1)
	T2	1 (<i>te morau</i>)	9
<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	T2	2 (includes initial use of Ag- <i>ni</i> P: 1)	8
<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	T2	2 (<i>te kureru</i> : 1) (<i>te morau</i> : 1)	8
Total T1	60	1	59
T2	80	7	70 (excludes DP for the PP item <i>nusumu/toru</i> in T2: 2) (excludes <i>ni yotte</i> passive for <i>nusumu/toru</i> in T2: 1)

T1: Posttest 1

T2: Posttest 2

i, v & vi. The omitted particle on P is regarded as *o* (Acc), except when it appears as the first noun in the utterance with *nusumu/toru*, in which case it is possible that P was treated as the subject/topic and the form used is a DP. See below for a discussion of this point.

ii, iv & vii. See below for a discussion of these phenomena.

iii. There was one use of the *ni yotte* passive (see footnote 6).

As Table 2 shows, the use of *ni* passives was dominant in the responses of the NSs, and actives were hardly used for these affective situations. However, four issues arising from the NS performance data need to be addressed: the omission of the particle on the patient or the patient itself; the use of the DP for the PP item *nusumu/toru* (to steal); the use of the passive combined with *te simau* (regrettably)

or its conversational variant *tyau*; and the two out of ten uses of actives for *tataku* (to hit) and *homeru* (to praise). The last phenomenon can also partly explain the greater use of actives in Posttest 2 (7/80, 0.088) than Posttest 1 (1/60, 0.017).

1) NSs' omission of the particle on the patient or the patient itself in the PP items

First, the natural omission of the particle on the patient in the two PP items, *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on), and especially with the former, caused a problem in classification. Without a particle on the patient, it is not possible to judge whether the construction produced is the PP (with the particle *o* (Acc) on the patient) or the DP (with *ga* (Nom)). This difficulty was pointed out by Tanaka (e.g., 1999c, p. 139), particularly in the speech of NNSs. Six subjects omitted the particle on the patient *asi* (foot) in the Posttest 1 item, and three on *te* (hand) in the Posttest 2 item. (1) is an example, with the omitted particle in the square brackets²:

NS4 (Posttest 1: *humu*)

- (1) Sakki [*densya-de*] *asi[-o]* *hum-are-ta*
 earlier on a train **foot[-Acc]** step on-Pass-Past
 (Earlier on a train I had my foot stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this).

Also, one subject (NS1) unexpectedly omitted the patient *te* in the Posttest 2 item and stated (2) (with omitted element in the square brackets):

NS1 (Posttest 2: *humu*)

- (2) **Siranai hito-ni sakki kooen-de [te-o] hum-are-tyat-ta.*
 stranger-by earlier in a park **[hand-Acc]** step on-Pass-regrettably-Past

In these cases, the omitted particle (in (1)) or the particle on the omitted patient (in (2)) is almost certainly *o* (Acc). Indeed, the NSs I have asked about this have confirmed that the particle *ga* (Nom) on the patient in these cases would be unacceptable. Also, the use of the PP with P-*o* by NSs in a similar situation was confirmed by Tanaka's (2000, p 231, emphasis added) data³, in which 99% of them used the PP with P-*o* in

² The omission of the topic *watasi-wa* (I-Top) is natural and very common.

³ Tanaka elicited written data.

- (3) *Densya-no naka-de tonari-no zyousei-ni asi-o hum-are-ta*
 on a train woman next to me-by **foot-Acc** step on-Pass-Past
 (On a train I had my foot stepped on by a woman next to me and was negatively
 'affected' by this).

The problem with the omitted particle on the patient or the patient itself, namely, the difficulty in judging whether the utterance produced is a PP or a DP, is more complicated with *nusumu/toru* (to steal). Two subjects each in the Posttest 1 and Posttest 2 items omitted the particle on the patient, as in (4). The possible omitted particle is indicated in the square brackets.

NS1 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

- (4) *Doroboo-ni tokei[-o?] nusum-are-tit-ta yo.*
 thief-by **watch[-Acc?]** steal-Pass-regrettably (colloquial)-Past FP
 (Regrettably I had my watch stolen by a thief and was negatively 'affected' by this. /
 Regrettably my watch was stolen by a thief.)

Although there is no evidence that the omitted particle is *o*, this is likely to be the case. However, in (5), in which the patient appears in the utterance initial position, the possibility that the form produced is the DP cannot be ruled out.

NS4 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

- (5) *Tukue-n naka-no tokei[-o/-ga?] tor-are-ta yo.*
watch in the drawer[-Acc/-Nom?] steal-Pass-Past FP
 (I had a watch in the drawer stolen and was negatively 'affected' by this. / The watch
 in the drawer was stolen.)

Also, in Posttest 2, in the item whose main clause contained *nusum-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast), three subjects used a complex sentence in which the patient appeared in the subordinate clause. The following are examples:

NS2 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

- (6) *Sakki-made tukue-no naka-ni tokei atta noni, kitto doroboo-ni nusum-are-ta*
 Until earlier there was a **watch** in the drawer but surely thief-by steal-Pass-Past
n da.
 Nml Cop
 (Until earlier there was a watch in the drawer but I must have had [it: omitted] stolen
 by a thief and was negatively 'affected' by this / [it: omitted] must have been stolen
 by a thief.)

NS10 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

(7) *A(n) tukue-no naka-ni tokei-o oite oitara doroboo-ni*

Um I left **my watch** in the drawer and thief-by

nusum-are-tyat-ta.

steal-Pass-regrettably-Past

(I left my watch in the drawer and regrettably had [it: omitted] stolen by a thief and was negatively 'affected' by this / [it: omitted] was stolen by a thief.)

Two subjects in the Posttest 1 item and one in the Posttest 2 item produced two separate utterances as follows:

NS7 (Posttest 1: *nusumu/toru*)

(8) *Saihu-ga nai. (2) Sakki desya-de (1) suri-ni nusum-are-ta no kana*

my purse is missing earlier on a train pickpocket-by steal-Pass-Past I wonder

(My purse is missing. I wonder if I had [it: omitted] stolen by a pickpocket and was negatively 'affected' by this earlier on a train. / I wonder if [it: omitted] was stolen by a pickpocket earlier on a train).

Tanaka (2000) considers the omitted patient in utterances like (8) to be *saihu-o* (purse-Acc) and refers to them as '[p]assive without particle 'o' or object' (p. 246)⁴, which she considers to be very natural in Japanese. Although this sounds correct, it seems difficult to rule out the possibility that it is (*sono*) *saihu-ga* ((the) purse-Nom) that has been omitted in the second utterance of (8). As for (6) and (7), the insertion of *sono tokei-wa/-ga* (the watch-Top/-Nom) into the main clauses seems possible because one can focus on *tokei* and describe what has happened to it⁵. This observation leads to our second point to note regarding the NSs' performance.

2) The use of the DP (+ *te simau/tyau* (regrettably)) for the PP item *nusumu/toru* (to steal)

We have just seen instances of the NSs' utterances that may be regarded as the production of DPs for the items designed to elicit PPs. Indeed, the explicit use of DPs with *ga* (Nom) on the patient was observed in two subjects in Posttest 2 as in

⁴ In Tanaka (2000, p. 231), 98% of the NSs used the PP for a similar situation in '*Densya-no naka-de saihi-o torareta* (On a train I had my purse stolen and was negatively 'affected' by this)'.
⁵ Asking the subjects to re-state the patient in the main clause would have made the utterance unnatural as a whole. As for (8), instructing subjects to use only one sentence does not resolve the problem because the first utterance can simply be connected to the second by using (*n da*)*kedo* (but), and the patient can still be omitted in the main clause, as in (6) and (7). Examining learners' utterances in wider discourse may be helpful in identifying which element in the utterances is focused.

NS5 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

- (9) Sakki ^{WH}nto tukue-no naka-ni irete oita zibun-no **tokei-ga** (SR) (1) doroboo-ni
 earlier well my **watch** that I had put in the drawer-**Nom** thief-by
nusum-are-ta
 steal-Pass-Past
 (My watch that I had put in the drawer was stolen by a thief earlier)

and

NS7 (Posttest 2: *nusumu/toru*)

- (10) Ee tukue-n naka-ni simatte oita ore-no **tokei-ga** doroboo-ni hair-are-te
 er my **watch** that I had put away in the drawer-**Nom** thief-by enter-Pass-Ger
^{WH}nm tor-are-tyat-ta n da yo
 mm steal-Pass-regrettably-Past Nml Cop FP
 (My watch that I had put away in the drawer was regrettably stolen by a thief after
 being burgled).

The occurrence of these forms disconfirms Hypotheses 2a & 2b. In my data, a description of a theft in an unattended room in the Posttest 2 item and not a theft on a train in the Posttest 1 item triggered the use of the DP. Also, the omitted patient can be interpreted as patient-*ga* (Nom) more naturally in the former than in the latter. This means that even with similar theft situations, there is variation in the marking of the patient. This variation may have been caused by the difference in the focus of the speaker. It is possible to focus on the missing item and describe what has happened to it, as in *Tokei-ga nusumareta* (The watch was stolen), or its present state, as in *Tokei-ga nusumarete iru* (The watch has been stolen), or to focus on the victim (the speaker) and describe what has happened to him/her, as in *Tokei-o nusumareta* (I had my watch stolen and was negatively 'affected' by this). It seems that the Posttest 2 situation triggered focus on the missing object more than the Posttest 1 situation did. This is probably because in the former situation the thief stole the watch whilst the victim (speaker) was away. It can be said that s/he was less involved with the action of stealing. On the other hand, in the Posttest 1 item, the theft happened in the presence of the speaker and the psychological impact s/he received was interpreted as stronger than in the Posttest 2 item. Thus, s/he was likely to have been more 'affected' by the incident in the former than in the latter. This interpretation is in line with the observation made in Chapter 2 that *ni* passives are preferred in describing 'affective' events.

It is therefore likely that the NSs acted differently depending on how they

interpreted the event and chose to present the situation to the listener. If they interpreted the situation as directly affecting them, and wanted to express the negative feeling caused by the incident of theft, probably because the stolen item was regarded as important for them, then the PP may have been selected; if they intended simply to express the current state of the missing item, the DP was used.

Despite this variation in the NSs' use of the particle on the patient in the Posttest 2 item, the fact remains that none of them used the active, and the unclear cases with an omitted particle on the patient can be interpreted as PPs⁶. The variation observed in the NSs in the use of the PP or the DP in the Posttest 2 item will only become a problem in analysis if the learners produce DPs in this test item, since such behaviour cannot be labelled as deviant. If they use the active, this can be regarded as deviant.

3) The use of the passive combined with *te simau* (regrettably) or its conversational variant *tyau*

Our third point to note in interpreting the NS data is the combined use of the passive and *te simau/tyau* (regrettably). This was observed in some of the subjects in all the test items except *tataku* (to hit), *homeru* (to praise), *iu* (to say/tell) (negative) (the Posttest 1 items) and *iu* (positive) (both test items), supporting Hypothesis 2b. Given that this form typically adds the meaning that the speaker regrets what has happened (or thinks that it was unfortunate), its non-appearance in positive situations is understandable. It seems that the use of this form depends on how individual subjects conceived the incident and chose to describe it to the addressee (a close friend). If one thought that it was simply bad luck, for instance, one may have chosen to use A + *te simau/tyau*; if one developed a stronger feeling than regret, such as anger, one might not have added *te simau/tyau* to the *ni* passive to avoid such a nuance. For instance, in the use of *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *sikar-are-te simat-ta/-tyat-ta* (scold-Pass-regrettably-Past) may have been used if the subjects did not take the agent's action of scolding seriously even though it did affect them negatively to some extent. Also, if they had some reservation about expressing to their close friend that they were negatively 'affected', they may have used *te*

⁶ One NS produced the *ni yotte* passive (see Kuroda 1979) in the Posttest 2 item. However, the use of this form, when talking to a close friend, seems deviant since it sounds too objective and impersonal. It is not clear if s/he would actually use it in natural conversation with a close friend.

simau/tyau to hide their feelings of anger or embarrassment, for instance. This is possible because the negative 'affectivity' meaning encoded by the *ni* passive can be weakened by attributing the event to simple bad luck, which is one of the meanings of *te simau*. Thus, the use of the *ni* passive with *te simau* form seems to be optional and not obligatory in the situations presented in the experiments. Here again, the variation in the NSs in the use of *te simau/tyau* is unlikely to be problematic in examining the learners' utterances because its use depends on the personal preference of the speaker in interpreting the situation and presenting it to the listener. Thus, it is not a problem for the learners if they do not combine the *ni* passive with *te simau/tyau*. What can be regarded as inappropriate is the use of **actives** when *ni* passives are clearly preferred by a majority of the NSs. However, it should be noted that NSs' frequent use of the *ni* passive with *te simau* implies that this combination needs to be given more emphasis in teaching. It was not possible to do this in the present study, because all the learners were beginners at the time of the instructional treatment and *ni* passives without (not combined with) *te simau* were already expected to prove difficult.

4) The use of the active for *tataku* (to hit) and *homeru* (to praise)

Finally, an explanation is necessary for the use of the actives with *tataku* (to hit) and *homeru* (to praise) by two out of ten NSs. The NSs' preference for the *ni* passive is less clear in these two Posttest 2 items, which does not fully support Hypotheses 2a & 2b (for *tataku*). Notably, the active was used in the forms of benefactives with *homeru*, that is, *homete kureru* (to 'give' a favour of/do a favour by praising) by one subject and *homete morau* (to receive a favour of praising) by another, which are both natural in this positive situation. In the case of *tataku*, since the situation depicted on the card was that a friend hit the speaker out of the blue and for no apparent reason, the speaker may have chosen to use the active to report to the close friend (the addressee) the offensive and inappropriate action taken by the agent (with a focus on the agent).

Although one cannot argue quite as strongly as with the other items that the use of the *ni* passive is far more appropriate than that of the active with *tataku* and *homeru*, it is still possible to compare each learner's use of forms in these DP items with the other DP items, *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *iu* (to say/tell) and *warau* (to laugh).

Testing the use of *tataku* can confirm if some of the learners who have produced *sikar-are-ru* (scold-Pass-Nonpast), for instance, apply the same underlying notion (of ‘affectivity’ or whatever other notion they may have) to this verb. Testing the use of *homeru* can reveal whether the learners can encode positive ‘affectivity’. Both verbs can also examine if the beginners’ tendency to treat the agent as the grammatical subject (the ‘First Noun Principle in Production’), for instance, is still observed in Posttest 2.

5) Appearance of the ungrammatical *Ag-*ga* (Nom) Pass in NSs’ utterances

In addition to the above four observations, one very interesting phenomenon occurred unexpectedly. Two NSs (NS 4 in the use of *iu* (to say/tell) (negative & positive) and NS6 in *iu* (positive) as the Posttest 1 items) initially produced the ungrammatical *Ag-*ga iw-are-ta* (Ag-Nom say-Pass-Past) (the agent was told) in

NS4 (Posttest 1: *iu* (negative))

- (11) *Emily-ga anata nanka daikirai, kirai tte iw-are-te.* (1)
 Emily-Nom that ‘I hate you’, ‘I don’t like you’ say-Pass-Ger
Kirai tte Emily-ni iw-are-te ima sugoi kanasii
 that ‘I don’t like you’ Emily-by say-Pass-Ger now I’m very sad
 (Emily was told ‘I hate, don’t like you’. I was told by Emily ‘I don’t like you’ and I’m very sad now).

The nominative *ga* marking of the agent combined with the use of the passive verb is fascinating since this is a phenomenon commonly observed in the learners (see below). As pointed out by Furukawa (2008), it seems that the same cognitive process that I have been referring to as the ‘First Noun Principle in Production’ was in operation in these NSs. That is, they focused on the agent and marked it with *ga* because this is where the action of saying originates and this makes it salient for the speaker. Then the passive verb was used to express the ‘affectivity’ meaning. Similar phenomena were (informally) observed in other NSs’ natural speech as well. This behaviour of NSs certainly deserves further study.

Having examined the results obtained from the NSs, let us now look at the performance of the NNSs.

4. Results from non-native speakers: effects of instruction

The claim regarding the advantage of teaching *ni* passives in terms of ‘affectivity’

(Hypotheses 3a & 3b) can be tested by examining the appropriate use of *ni* passives in Posttest 1. Additionally, partial success in producing *ni* passives, or the use of either passive verbs or passive particles, may have resulted from the effects of instruction. These forms may also represent intermediate forms that learners produce in the course of learning *ni* passives (Hypothesis 4a). It is also possible that learners' use of *te simau* (regrettably) reflects one stage of learning, in that they encoded the meaning of regret instead of 'affectivity' of *ni* passives. This will become clearer later on, when I present some evidence of the use of *te simau* instead of the *ni* passive by some of the learners. In this section, I shall present the data that show the production of these forms by the learners in the two groups, starting with the detailed results from the Pretest.

4-1. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Pretest

The Pretest results do not indicate that any of the subjects was able to produce *ni* passives orally⁷. Although the learner ExE9 temporarily produced the passive verb *war-are-ru* (break: Vt-Pass-Nonpast) with *Ag-ni* (by), his/her final form was the active intransitive. There is no other evidence of this learner's knowledge of Japanese passives. Given the confusion over the Vi vs. Vt distinction many learners exhibited, the appearance of *warareru* may be accidental.

Table 3 shows the results of performance of the two learner groups for each item/verb of the Pretest. The scores presented in the table are based on the points calculated following the marking method explained in Chapter 4, Section 3-2-2. See Appendix G for the Pretest scores of the individual learners.

⁷ There is some indication that the learner ExE10 had some knowledge of Japanese DPs. This learner attempted to produce DPs (with incorrect verbal forms) in the written questionnaire, which was dropped from analysis due to a design problem (see Chapter 4, Section 2). However, the form produced by this learner did not contain an emotional 'affective' meaning since the passive grammatical subject was the vase (inanimate entity). Also, s/he was unable to produce passives in the oral task and was therefore not excluded from the experiments. The purpose of the present study is to test learners' ability to produce *ni* passives orally, and the possibility of the learners being able to produce them in writing is not ruled out.

Table 3. Pretest: average scores for each item, Control and Experimental groups

Test item	Max. score	Control (n=7)	Experimental (n=10)
<i>Kau</i> (to buy)	3.00	1.36	1.25
<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	2.00	1.36	1.25
<i>Wareru/waru</i> (to break, Vi/Vt)	2.00	0.93	0.80
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	2.00	1.36	1.10
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	2.00	1.29	1.15
<i>Okuru</i> (to send)	3.00	1.21	1.05
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	2.00	1.36	1.20
Total	16.00	8.87	7.80
Average		1.27	1.11
Standard deviation		0.16	0.16
t-test		0.048	

As the table shows, the Control group outperformed the Experimental group, and the difference is statistically significant ($p < .05$). Interestingly, the score of the Control group is slightly better than that of the Experimental group for each item⁸. Thus, it can be said that, at the outset of the study, the Experimental group did not perform better than the Control group. This means that if the Experimental group outperform the Control group in Posttest 1, this can be attributed specifically to the effects of instruction, rather than any underlying advantage in their general proficiency.

Another point that the results of the Pretest indicate is the justification for the inclusion of the five learners (ExE8, ExE10, ConE5, ConE6 and ConE7) who spent only one semester in Japan on the Period Abroad Programme. These learners ranked in the top five in this test, indicating possibly better readiness of these learners before the instruction in passives. Also, as pointed out in Chapter 4, Section 1-2, all of these learners either had previously stayed in Japan, or attended a Japanese course at the exchange university in Germany, which would have helped to compensate, at least partially, for the interruption of the Period Abroad in Europe.

4-2. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Posttest 1

4-2-1. Appropriate use of *ni* passives (passive verbs and particles)

The appropriate use of the *ni* passive reflects a learner's ability to set a viewpoint, select the particles (not necessarily consciously) and produce the passive verbal form. Semantically, it indicates a learner's success in encoding the information that s/he was 'affected' by a given event. Table 4-1 shows the production of the appropriate *ni*

⁸ As I mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 3-2-2, 0.5 point was given to the utterances with an unmarked agent at the utterance initial position (the 'First Noun Principle in Production'). The better performance of the Control group for each item as well as the average score also obtained when the scores were tentatively re-calculated with 0 point for the above phenomenon.

passives by the learners in the Control and Experimental groups. Note that this and the following tables only show the learners who used relevant forms in their final productions. Any other notable phenomena, such as an initial, tentative form that was self-corrected to another form, will be shown in the notes to each table, where relevant.

Given the small total number of learners, it is not possible to draw generalisations on the basis of these figures. In the following tables, I shall examine the frequency of the use of the verbs, as well as the proportion of the overall use of relevant forms. Since the present study focuses on the production of passives, ungrammatical actives are not marked as such with an asterisk, except in quoted utterances.

Table 4-1. Posttest 1: appropriate *ni* passive responses, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control ⁱ (n = 7)	Experimental ⁱⁱ (n = 10)
	Verb		
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConGer(E)4)	3/10 (ExE4, ExE8, ExE10)
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	0/7	1/9 (ExE4)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	1/9 (ExE4)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	0/9
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	0/7	4/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExE8, ExE10)
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	0/7	3/10 (ExC2, ExE4, ExE10)
Total (Proportion)		1/42 (0.024)	12/57 (0.211)

Additional notes

i. Due to a problem with the tape recorder, part of the utterances made by ConC/E1 was not recorded. I shall indicate the forms used on the basis of the available recordings or my memory. This also applies to Tables 4-2 to 4-4.

ii. ExE9's data for *warau*, *Iu* (negative) and *Iu* (positive) were invalid due to errors in the process of eliciting utterances, or because inadequate information was provided by the interviewer when assisting this learner to understand the pictures or the task requirements. Therefore, the number of the learners who produced the appropriate *ni* passive is divided by nine items instead of ten. The same applies to other tables for Posttest 1. Also, due to a unforeseeable problem, the test was conducted slightly later than one week after the input session with ExC(E)3.

NNS *ni* passives: Summary of the results

Overall, the learners in the Experimental group performed better than those in the Control group in the appropriate use of *ni* passives, in that more learners used them, as predicted by Hypothesis 3a. Whilst there was only one out of seven successful use of the *ni* passive with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) (by ConGer(E)4) across the items in the Control group (resulting in the proportion of 0.024), there were between one and four out of ten learners in the Experimental group who produced *ni* passives for all

the verbs except for *iu* (to say/tell) (positive) (resulting in the proportion of 0.211). This confirms Hypothesis 3b.

Differences in the frequency of each verb between the two groups are larger in the PPs with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) (Control: none vs. Experimental: four out of ten) and *humu* (to step on) (none vs. three out of ten), and the DP with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) (one out of seven vs. three out of ten), than in other items (*warau* (to laugh) and *iu* (to say/tell) (negative)). I shall discuss possible reasons for this in Chapter 6, Section 2-1.

The extent to which each learner could produce *ni* passives is varied. What is notable is the fact that one learner (ExE4), whose Pretest score was the lowest in the group, displayed the ability to apply *ni* passives to those verbs that only appeared infrequently in the input (*iu* (to say/tell) (negative) and *warau* (to laugh)). I shall come back to the discussion of this learner's performance in Chapter 7.

Notably, in the item testing the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal), ConGer(E)4 also produced Ag-*ni* (by) P-*o* (Acc) and said 'How do you say stolen?', before using A + *te simau* (regrettably). It is likely that s/he was trying to produce the PP (possibly with implied Poss-*wa* (Poss-Top) at the beginning of his/her utterance), but the lack of knowledge of the passive verbal form forced him/her to use A + *te simau* as an alternative form (see Section 4-2-4).

Finally, no production of the *ni* passive with *te simau* (regrettably) was observed in any learners. It is possible that this form was too complex for them, or they did not feel the necessity to encode two kinds of feelings, 'affectivity'/adversity via the *ni* passive, and regret via *te simau*. The use of *tyau* was not expected as this conversational variant does not appear in the textbook.

4-2-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles

The use of a passive verbal form not accompanied by the correct particles can be regarded as a learner's attempt to produce a passive utterance. It shows that a learner has associated the use of the passive verb with the situation depicted in the picture. This section examines how the agent, patient and possessor were marked in the learners' utterances with the use of a passive verb and whether there are differences between the two groups.

Table 4-2. Posttest 1: passive verb responses, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConE6) *(P) Ag-wa P-ni	1/10 (ExGu/E6) *Ag-wa P-ni
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	0/7	1/9 (ExGu/E6) *Ag-wa P-ni
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	0/9
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	0/9
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	0/7	1/10 (ExE4) PP particle pattern: *Poss-wa P-ni Ag-o
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	1/7 (ConGer(E)4) *Ag-wa P-ni	3/10 (ExC1) *Ag-wa Poss-ni (ExGu/E6) *Ag-wa? ((w) ^P er/aa) Poss-ni P-do (ExE8) *Ag-ga P-o
Total (Proportion)		2/42 (0.048)	6/57 (0.105)

NNS passive verbs: Summary of the results

As Table 4-2 shows, the difference between the Experimental and Control groups in the overall number of learners who produced passive verbs with incorrect particles is observable, if not as prominent as in the appropriate use of *ni* passives. More learners used the passive verb, especially with *humu* (to step on), in the Experimental group than in the Control group. This means that these learners attempted to produce passive constructions. Also, ExGu/E6 used passive verbs with three test items. These phenomena confirm, if somewhat weakly, Hypotheses 3a & 3b, or the advantage of the method used in teaching the Experimental group.

It should be noted, however, that the difference between the two groups becomes smaller if we include abandoned uses of passive verbs by the learners in the Control group. One learner in this group (ConE5) initially produced *Ag-ga (Nom) P-ni (to) *war-are-ta* (*laugh-Pass-Past) (for the verb *warau* (to laugh)) and then changed the verbal form to the active because, according to his/her comment, s/he could not remember the verbal form. His/her metalinguistic comment that s/he thought that s/he was 'trying to connect ?(it) to passive for some reason' clearly indicates this learner's initial intention to use the passive verbal form. The performance of this learner shows lack of confidence in the use of the *ni* passive. It is also interesting

that s/he simply replaced the verb in the passive form to the active form, without an adjustment of particles. These issues will be discussed in detail in consideration of learners' metalinguistic comments in the next chapter.

One conspicuous phenomenon in the use of a passive verb with incorrect particles is the frequent appearance of *Ag-wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) in the utterance initial position⁹, as predicted by Hypothesis 4a. This accounts for six out of eight utterances that appear in Table 4-2, and another learner (ExGu/E6) placed the agent in the same position although whether or not its particle is *wa* is unclear¹⁰. This means that the 'First Noun Principle in Production' (see Chapter 3, Section 4-1), was in operation in all these learners. One example of an actual utterance produced is as follows:

ExE8 (*humu* (to step on) in Posttest 1)

(12) **tonari-no hito*^H-*ga* *nn* *asi* (1) -*o* (SR) *hum-are-masi, si-ta*.
 person next to me-Nom mm foot-Acc step on-Pass-Polite-Past

This phenomenon indicates that, although this learner knew that it was appropriate to use the passive verb for this situation, the 'First Noun Principle in Production' prevented him/her from using the correct particle *ni* (by) for the agent and led him/her to mark it with *ga* (Nom). I shall discuss this phenomenon in the next chapter.

The improved performance of the Experimental group is more prominent if we look at the use of passive verbs, **with or without** the correct particles. As I mentioned above, the use of passive verbs indicates the learner's attempt to produce passive constructions. In *nusumu/toru* (to steal), five out of ten learners belong to

⁹ This phenomenon was also observed by Tanaka (e.g., 1999a, 1999b, 2004).

¹⁰ The utterance made by this learner is

*Um *kyoo-wa* (1) um *tonari-no hito* (w)^H-*er/aa* *wata*^{SH}*si*^H (2) ^H*watasi-ni* (1) *watasi-no* *asi* (2) *er* ^H*do*
 today-Top person next to me er/(-Top) I-to my foot -Acc?
 hum-are, hum-are^{SH&SHG}-*masi-ta*.
 step on-Pass-Polite-Past

There are two points to note about this utterance. First, the sound after the agent *tonari-no hito* is not entirely clear; it sounded like either 'er' preceded by a very weak sound 'u', or 'wa' with a very weak 'w'. However, the appearance of this noun in the utterance initial position (except for the time adverbial) before the patient and the possessor may indicate that this learner regarded it as the agent/subject (topic). In all the other items, s/he placed the subject/topic in the same position and marked it with the topical *wa*. Thus, s/he had a general tendency to place the topic in the utterance initial position. Secondly, this learner uttered a very short and quiet sound after the patient (*asi* (foot)) that sounded like *do*. This may have been intended as *o* (Acc), although this cannot be proven. It is also possible that this was meant to be *de* (by), or this learner tried to say *de*, and changed this to *o*, resulting in the hybrid sound *do*.

this category in the Experimental group, whereas there is no one in this category in the Control group. In *humu* (to step on), the ratio is six out of ten (Experimental): one out of seven (Control).

Moreover, if we look at the elements other than the verb, a further difference between the two groups emerges. ConGer(E)4 in the Control group produced the passive verb with Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*ni* (P-to) in the item to test the use of *humu* (to step on). The possessor did not appear separately¹¹ in this learner's utterance. On the other hand, the possessor was separated from the patient and encoded on its own in the utterances of three learners (ExC1 and ExGu/E6 in *humu*, and ExE4 in *nusumu/toru* (to steal)) in the Experimental group in the two PP items. This means that these learners described the events as something that happened to the possessor *watasi* (I), rather than to the patient (*saihu* (purse) in *nusumu/toru* or *asi* (foot) in *humu*). It should be noted that this possessor was marked with *ni* (to) by two learners (ExC1 and ExGu/E6 in *humu*) and *wa* (Top) by one (ExE4 in *nusumu/toru*). The latter is obviously closer to the PP in that the possessor is the topic of the utterance, but the former can also be said to be an improvement from the use of the grammatical active or the DP in that the existence of the 'separate possessor' itself is one of the characteristics of PPs. Importantly, the use of the passive verbs indicates that these learners actually had an intention to produce passive constructions. This phenomenon largely supports Hypothesis 4a, but it shows an instance of combination of the passive verb, and partly passive and partly active particles, rather than the predicted combination of the passive verb and active particles. It also partially supports Hypothesis 3a, in that the Experimental group showed some approximation to the use of PPs. I shall discuss the significance of the appearance of the possessor in the PP items in the course of learning to produce these passives as well as a cognitive account of this phenomenon in Chapter 6, Section 6-2.

The results further support Hypothesis 4c, in that no use of DPs for the PP items was observed in either group. Thus, it can be said that the negative evidence provided in class regarding the inappropriateness of this form was useful.

¹¹ What I mean by the possessor appearing separately (or the 'separate possessor') is the encoding of the argument possessor independently of the patient although the latter is part of the former. Therefore in the above 'foot' situation, the appearances of *watasi-wa* (I-Top), *watasi-ga* (Nom) or *watasi-ni* (to) etc. are regarded as separate encoding of the possessor, whereas *watasi* in *watasi-no asi* (my foot) is not.

4-2-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs

A learner's use of particles, whether correct or incorrect, often provides a clue to the manner in which s/he has conceptualised an event. Table 4-3 shows the use of the passive (or passive-like) particles *P-wa* (Top) *Ag-ni* (by) in DPs and *Poss-wa* (Top) *Ag-ni* (by) *P-o* (Acc) in PPs, in combination with active verbs:

Table 4-3. Posttest 1: passive particles, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConE5) + <i>te simau</i> (regrettably)	0/10
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	0/7	0/9 or 1/9 (ExC(E)3) (*) <i>Ag-nim</i> ⁱ
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	1/9 (ExC(E)3)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	1/9 (ExE4)
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	3/7 (ConC(E)2) (ConGer(E)4) + <i>te simau</i> (ConE6)	0/10
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	0/7 ⁱⁱ	0/10
Total (Proportion)		4/42 (0.095)	2/57 or 3/57 (0.035 or 0.053)

Additional notes:

i. This learner uttered

*^{H&SL}*Tim-nim* (2) ^{SH}*wara-u* (SR) (3) ^{SH&SHG}*warai* (5) ^H*si-masi-ta*
Tim-by? laugh-Nonpast *laugh-Polite-Past

in which the 'm' sound after *Tim-ni* may be a slip of the tongue. Given the uncertainty, I have entered 0/9 or 1/9 in the table.

ii. ConE6 produced **Ag-wa* (Top) *Poss-ga* (Nom) *P-o* (Acc) A. The appearance of the possessor especially as the subject in a PP item is notable, although the agent was also marked as the topic. See Chapter 6, Section 6-2.

Passive particles: Summary of the results

It should be clearly stated that, unlike the use of a passive verbal form, the use of the passive (or passive-like) particles may not always indicate a learner's attempt to produce a passive utterance, when s/he is simply confused about particles in general¹². On the other hand, some of the learners who produce the active verb with *Ag-ni* may do so only because they do not know the passive verbal form and had no choice but to give up using the passive verb. I shall discuss possible reasons for the production of passive particles in combination with an active verb later on.

¹² I call these particles 'passive particles'. However, I do not deny the possibility that these do not actually reflect part of passive utterances.

Despite the small group differences, an examination of the actual utterances made by the learners reveals an interesting difference as well as a similarity. Recall that I have pointed out the significance of the appearance of the ‘separate possessor’ with a passive verb in the PP items in Section 4-2-2. This also happened with active verbs (confirming Hypothesis 4a to a limited extent, since this form is closer to the active), although the question arises of whether or not learners actually attempted to produce passive constructions when the verbs used are in their active forms, as I mentioned earlier. In Posttest 1, there was one learner in the Experimental group (ExE5) who produced the ‘separate possessor’ with *humu* (to step on) and one in the Control group (ConE6) with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu*. Also, ConC(E)2 in the Control group produced *P-o Ag-ni A with *nusumu* in

(13) *um watasi-no um (2) sss **saihuu-o** (SR) um (2) ss **^Hsurii (1) nnn -ni** (SR)
 my **purse-Acc**
 nn (6) **^Qnnn** (2) **^Hmusuu^{?&H} mu/mi^H -masi-ta** (SR)
 mm mmm (*)steal-Polite-Past
 pickpocket mmm-by

One crucial point that differentiates the Experimental group from the Control group in relation to the incorrect but notable use of particles is the appearance of *Ag-de* (by/due to) in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal), which appeared in three learners in the Experimental group (ExE9 with P-o (Acc) and ExE5 & ExGu/E6 with P-*wa*

4-2-4. Use of *te simau/tyau* (regrettably) and benefactives

The use of *te simau* (regrettably) means that a learner has encoded his/her feeling of regret (or unintentional nature of the agent's action) in his/her utterance¹⁴. Although this feeling is of different nature to that of 'affectivity' encoded by *ni* passives, it is crucial that the learner has attempted to express his/her feeling or affective stance in his/her utterance via a linguistic form (see Chapter 2, Section 4 for a detailed discussion of this point). The production of benefactives, on the other hand, is also important if learners attempt to use it in a positive situation of *iu* (to say/tell) (positive).

Let us look at the performance of the learners in their use of *te simau* and benefactives.

Table 4-4. Posttest 1: *te simau/tyau* and benefactives, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
DP	Verb		
	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConE5) *P-wa..., Ag-ni A + <i>te simau</i> ⁱ	0/10 ⁱⁱ
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	0/7	0/9
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	0/9
PP	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	0/9
	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	1/7 (ConGer(E)4) *Ag-ni P-o + A + <i>te simau</i>	1/10 (ExC(E)3) A + <i>te simau</i>
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	0/7	1/10 (ExC(E)3) A + <i>te simau</i>
Total (Proportion)		2/42 (0.048)	2/57 (0.035)

Additional notes

i. P appeared in the subordinate clause.

ii. Two learners used *te simau* in *syukudai-o wasurete simau* (to forget to do one's homework with regret), one (ExC(E)3) in the preceding utterance and the other (ExE10) in the subordinate clause.

Te simau/tyau and benefactives: Summary of the results

The difference between the two groups in terms of the number of the learners who produced *te simau* is minimal here. Since the pictures in the experiments were designed to elicit *ni* passives rather than the active with *te simau*, the small number of occurrences of this form is not surprising. However, there are three learners altogether who used this form, and encoded a sense of regret, rather than the

¹⁴ This encoding does not necessarily have to be intentional.

‘affectivity’/adversity meaning.

The significance of the appearances of *te simau* in this test needs to be discussed later on in the light of the data obtained from Posttest 2.

Notably, two learners in the Control group (ConGer(E)4 with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and ConE5 with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off)) combined *te simau* with *Ag-ni* (by). As I mentioned in Section 4-2-1, it is likely that ConGer(E)4 had an intention to produce the PP. S/he uttered *Ag-ni* (by) P-o (Acc) and asked ‘How do you say stolen?’ Being unable to recall the relevant verbal form, s/he used *A + te simau* instead. Although this learner abandoned his/her attempt to produce *nusum-are-ta* (steal-Pass-Past), the subsequent use of *te simau* is notable in that it encodes a different kind of (negative) feeling, a sense of regret. It may have actually been used as an alternative to the annoyance meaning of the PP. What is crucial here again is the fact that this learner attempted to encode his/her feeling in his/her utterance.

As for the use of benefactives, which might have been expected in the description of the positive situation of *iu* (to say/tell) (positive), no occurrences of these forms were observed in any of the learners. As we have seen, the use of *itte kureru* (to ‘give’ a favour of/do a favour by saying) only occurred in one of the ten NSs for this item, and can therefore be regarded as much less common than the *ni* passive.

4-2-5. Summary of Posttest 1

From the observations made above, the results of Posttest 1 can be summarised as follows:

(1) The faster pace of learning and higher levels of accuracy achieved by the learners in the Experimental group

The better performance of the learners in the Experimental group in the appropriate use of *ni* passives indicates that the pace of learning was faster and the levels of accuracy achieved were higher in this group than the Control group. This confirms Hypotheses 3a & 3b. The difference between the two groups is particularly prominent in the use of the passive verbs with or without the correct particles in the two PP items, *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on).

Although there were additional learners in the Control group who produced a passive-like verb, or tried to produce a passive verb with passive particles, they both

reverted to the active verbs eventually. This shows lack of confidence in the use of passive verbs. However, it can be said that these learners were in the process of moving away from the use of actives towards passives. Again this phenomenon shows that overall the learners in the Control group were not as fast in learning as those in the Experimental group who produced passive verbs with passive particles, and did not revert to actives. This phenomenon confirms difficulty of *ni* passives, particularly for the learners in the Control group (Hypothesis 1).

(2) The appearance of *Ag-ga (Nom)/-wa (Top) Pass

The *Ag-ga (Nom)/-wa (Top) Pass form was very commonly observed in the use of the passive verbs with incorrect particles. This means that the 'First Noun Principle in Production' was in operation, as predicted by Hypothesis 4a.

(3) The appearances of the 'separate possessor' with the passive verb in the PP items in the learners in the Experimental group

The appearance of the 'separate possessor' with a passive verb in the PP items was observed exclusively in the learners in the Experimental group. The separate encoding of the possessor is notable since this is one of the properties of PPs. The use of a passive verb is crucial since this means that these learners had a passive construction in mind. This phenomenon largely supports Hypothesis 4a, in that it contains both the passive property (the verb) and active one (particles). However, the appearance of the separate possessor itself was not predicted. See Chapter 6, Section 6-2 for a discussion of the significance of the appearance of the separate possessor.

(4) The appearance of Ag-de (by/due to) in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in the learners in the Experimental group

The agent was marked with *de* (by/due to) by three learners in the Experimental group in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal). Again, this phenomenon was only observed in this group. The use of this particle is interesting and can be said to be related to the production of the passive because it may have been used as 'by' as in *basu-de iku* (to go **by** bus) or *kaze-de tobasareru* (to be blown off **by** the wind). The use of *de* as 'by' was introduced in class prior to Posttest 1, and may therefore reflect an effect of instruction. It is also possible that *de* was used as 'due to' as in *ziko-de*

okureru (to be late **due to** an accident). If the learners who produced these forms use *ni* passives appropriately later on, it can be said that the use of *de* may reflect an intermediate form in the course of learning to produce the PP at least with *nusumu/toru* (confirming Hypothesis 4a). This, in turn, may indicate an advantage of the teaching method adopted for the Experimental group (Hypothesis 3a). I shall return to this point in Chapter 6, Section 2-3.

(5) The appearance of *te simau* (regrettably) in the learners of both groups and its possible relationship with later production of *ni* passives

It was noted that the appearance of *te simau* (regrettably) in the three learners at this stage needs to be examined in the light of the data from Posttest 2, since this phenomenon may be significant in the process of learning to produce *ni* passives.

Having examined the results from Posttest 1, let us now turn to Posttest 2 to see if the phenomena and tendencies observed in Posttest 1 have changed.

5. Results from non-native speakers: retention of the use of *ni* passives

In this section, I shall turn to the issue of the retention of the use of *ni* passives by presenting the data obtained from Posttest 2 and in Year 4. I shall also check if the tendencies observed in Posttest 1 have changed in Posttest 2.

5-1. Detailed results from non-native speakers: Posttest 2

Let us first examine the results obtained from Posttest 2, which took place after the learners had stayed in Japan studying at a Japanese university for up to six months. As in Section 4-2, a table showing the learners who used relevant forms will be presented first, and is followed by additional notes where relevant, and a summary of the results for each category.

5-1-1. Appropriate use of *ni* passives (passive verbs and particles)

Table 5-1 shows the appropriate use of *ni* passives by the learners in the two groups:

Table 5-1. Posttest 2: appropriate *ni* passive responses, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental ⁱ (n = 10)
	Verb		
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConC/E1) + <i>te simau</i> (regrettably)	4/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE9)
	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	0/7	4/10 (ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7, ExE9)
	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	0/7 ⁱⁱ	5/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7, ExE9)
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	0/7	3/10 (ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	3/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	3/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3)
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	0/7	4/10 (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7)
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	1/7 (ConC/E1) + <i>te simau</i>	4/10 (ExC2 ⁱⁱⁱ , ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7, ExE9)
Total (Proportion)		2/56 (0.036)	30/80 (0.375)

Additional notes:

- i. ExC1's experiment was interrupted for about an hour after the Japanese version of the test, due to the availability problem of this learner.
- ii. ConC/E1 produced the benefactive *te morau* (to receive a favour of doing something). See Section 5-1-4.
- iii. This learner started his/her utterance with the mention of an unmarked patient and re-started to produce the appropriate PP. This may mean that s/he initially had the DP construction ?*P-ga/-wa* (-Nom/-Top) *Ag-ni* (by) Pass in mind.

NNS *ni* passives: Summary of the results

Across the items, the difference between the Control group and the Experimental group is even clearer than in Posttest 1; in the Control group, most items have no subjects producing *ni* passives, and just one subject is successful on two items; by contrast in the Experimental Group each item has between three and five learners succeeding. This confirms Hypothesis 3a. Some of the learners in the Experimental group showed varying degrees of improvement across the range of verbs, confirming Hypothesis 3b. On the other hand, the learners in the Control group hardly made any progress, with only one learner (ConC/E1) producing passive + *te simau* (regrettably) with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and *humu* (to step on), confirming the difficulty of *ni* passives especially for the Control group (Hypothesis 1). The difference between the two groups is large, particularly in *homeru* (to praise) (five out of ten (Experimental) vs. none (Control)), *tataku* (to hit) (four out of ten: none) and *nusumu/toru* (to steal) (four out of ten: none) and is observable in other items as well.

Two learners in the Experimental group (ExC2, ExC(E)3) produced *ni* passives consistently across the items, displaying their ability to apply the use of these forms widely to all the verbs tested here. However, ExC2 overused *ni* passives even in the distractor items. Tanaka (1999e) also pointed out the overuse of passives by Chinese speakers. In the present study, no other case of such overuse was observed, although the total number of the subjects was small. Other learners (ExC1, ExE(Fr)7 and ExE9) did not use *ni* passives for all the target items, but performed better than in Posttest 1. ExE9 produced *ni* passives for four items and ExC1 and ExE(Fr)7, five items out of eight (supporting Hypothesis 3b to varying extents depending on the learner).

Notably, only the learners in the Experimental group, who were taught *ni* passives in terms of ‘affectivity’, produced positive passives (*homeru* (to praise) and *iu* (to say/tell) (positive)) in their grammatically correct forms (see, however, the ‘verb only’ category in Section 5-1-2 and Chapter 6, Section 5 for the use of *homeru* by the learners in the Control group).

The retention of the appropriate use of the *ni* passives from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2 is observed in two learners in the Experimental group (ExC1 in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and ExC2 in the use of *nusumu/toru* and *humu* (to step on)). Since the issue of retention (Hypotheses 5a & 5b) requires analysis of individual learners, it will be postponed to Chapter 6.

Finally, the production of the *ni* passive with *te simau* (regrettably) continued to prove difficult, in that only one learner in the Control group (ConC/E1) produced this form, possibly as a chunk (see Chapter 6, Sections 2-4 and 3), with two verbs. As in Posttest 1, this form was probably too complex, or the learners did not feel it necessary to encode a sense of regret, along with ‘affectivity’/adversity.

5-1-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles

The use of passive verbs with incorrect particles is presented in Table 5-2:

Table 5-2. Posttest 2: passive verb responses, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	2/7 (ConGer(E)4) ⁱ *A (P-ni) → later: *Ag{-ni → -ga} Pass (ConE5) *Ag-wa P-ni	1/10 (ExE8) *Ag-ga P-o
	<i>Tatoku</i> (to hit)	1/7 (ConE5) *Ag-wa P-ni	0/10
	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	2/7 (ConE5) *Ag-wa P-ni (ConE6) ⁱⁱ *Ag-wa P-ni	1/10 (ExE8) *Ag-ga nooto ⁱⁱⁱ -o → *Ag-ga P-o
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	1/7 (ConE5) *Ag-wa P-ni	0/10
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	0/10
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	0/10
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	1/7 (ConE5) *Ag-ga P-o → later: *Ag P-o Pass + <i>tyau</i>	1/10 (ExE8) *Ag-ga P-o Unclear (ExE4) *Ag-o P-o A/Pass? (<i>mezumeru n desu</i>) ^{iv}
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	2/7 (ConGer(E)4) *Ag-ga P-o (ConE5) *Ag-wa {Poss-ni → P-ni}	2/10 (ExC1) DP (ExE8) *Ag-ga P-o
Total (Proportion)		9/56 (0.161)	5/80 (0.063)

Additional notes

- ConGer(E)4 initially produced *Ag-ga (Nom) A, P-ni (to) A. However, s/he changed this form to *Ag{-ni (by?) → -ga (Nom)} Pass after completing all the test items. The latter is regarded as his/her final form.
- After the production of his/her utterance, this learner commented that s/he could not say this properly. Later on, s/he said that s/he had a problem with this item, and explicitly stated that the intended form was the past tense in the (active) plain form *hometa*. Since this comment contradicts the actual performance of this learner during the experiment, it was simply noted and the use of the passive verb was entered into the table.
- Noto* (note?) seems to have been used to mean (*siken-no kekka*) ((exam) results).
- This learner uttered

*Kyo-wa doroboo-o (1) watasi-no tokei-o (1) ^{H&SQ} *nusu*. (3) Ah! *mezum-e-ru* n
today-Top thief-Acc my watch-Acc (steal) *steal-*Pass?-Nonpast Nml
desu
Cop-Polite.

It seems that 'Ah!' indicates that this learner had come to realisation that *nusumu* (to steal) had to be changed into a certain form. Although **mezumeru* only has a limited degree of similarity to the passive *nusum-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast), this learner's intention to produce the latter remains a possibility. This utterance is regarded as an unclear case.

NNS passive verbs: Summary of the results

At a first glance, the 'verb only' use seems to be where the Control group has shown signs of improvement in terms of the total number of occurrences of the passive

verbal forms. One or two learners were observed to produce the passive verb across the items except for *iu* (to say/tell) (positive and negative)¹⁵. However, it cannot be ignored that these verbs were used mostly by the same learner, ConE5. Out of the nine uses of the passive verbs, six were made by this learner, two by ConGer(E)4 and one by ConE6.

On the other hand, there were uses of passive verbs by those learners who eventually changed them to actives (see below). As we have seen earlier, temporary use of a passive verbal form mirrors the current state of the learner's interlanguage and provides important data for an analysis of learning to produce *ni* passives, even though this verbal form was eventually abandoned.

The move away from actives towards passives is clearly observable in ConGer(E)4's performance. This learner mostly produced actives across the items. However, after the experiment, s/he stated that s/he wanted to use passives for some of the situations for which s/he had used the actives in the end¹⁶ because s/he was not certain about the passive verbal forms. Indeed, ConGer(E)4 was observed to struggle with the verbal form with *homeru* (to praise) and eventually gave up his/her attempt to produce the passive form. Avoidance of this kind was directly observable in ConGer(E)4, who made an explicit comment about having to give up his/her attempts to produce passives. However, the same phenomenon, if not expressed explicitly, may have occurred in other learners as well. For instance, in the use of *homeru*, ExGu/E6 in the Experimental group produced part of a passive-like verb at one point (line 3) and reverted to the active (line 4), as shown in Excerpt (15):

¹⁵ It is interesting to note that none of the learners in either group produced the passive verb *iw-are-ru* (say-Pass-Nonpast) with incorrect particles. With an exception of only one learner (ConC/E1), who used *Ag-ni* (by) with the active (see the next section), the use of the verb *iu* (to say/tell) generated the polarisation of using either the active or the grammatical *ni* passive (and not ungrammatical *ni* passives). Those learners who produced *iwareru* with correct particles are the ones who could use *ni* passives with some (ExC1) or all (ExC2 and ExC(E)3) of the other verbs as well. This points to the possibility that they had some underlying notion (such as 'affectivity') that guided them to apply it to *iwareru*. Most of the learners who opted for the actives seemed to have had little doubt that these forms might be deviant or less common, and made no attempt to produce even the passive verbs alone. This is reflected in fluency with which almost all of them produced the active verbs. Also, all the learners produced either the active or the passive (with some variation within the same voice, such as the simple past vs. past progressive) for the two items with *iu* (in positive and negative situations). It is possible that the form used for the item that appeared first influenced the one that followed.

¹⁶ The verbs for which ConGer(E)4 stated that s/he had wanted to use passives but had not been able to include some of the distractor items and *homeru* (to praise). For *homeru*, s/he produced **P-ni* (to) *Ag-ga* (Nom) (and after struggling with the verbal form) *home-rare-ta* (praise-Pass-Past) and changed the passive verb *homerareta* to the active *home-ta* (praise-Past) when asked to repeat. Although s/he then stated that s/he had wished to use the passive, the final form s/he produced was the active. This means that ConGer(E)4 was at a stage where s/he treated the agent as the grammatical subject when producing the passive verb. This behaviour is similar to that of more successful ExE(Fr)7 in the use of *tataku* (to hit), *warau* (to laugh) and *naku* (to cry) (dropped item). See Chapter 6, Section 6-1 for more details and for a discussion of the appearance of **Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) Pass in the processes of learning to produce DPs.

Excerpt (15)¹⁷

ExGu/E6 (*homeru* in Posttest 2)

1 ExGu/E6: Um

2 I [Interviewer]: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

3 ExGu/E6: *otoosan-ga* (SE) *watasi-ni* ^H*ho(m)*, *hom-are* (SR), *hom-are,-rare* (SR),
father-Nom I-to *praise-*Pass-Pass

4 *home,-m,masi-ta.*

praise-Polite-Past

5 I: [asks to repeat]. *Otoosan?* (Father?)

6 ExGu/E6: ^{SH}*Hom* (1) ^H*home*, ^{H&Q}*hor* ^{?&H&Q}*u/i* (9) ^{H&SHG}*homesi* ^{H&HG}*-masi-ta* (R).
praise (*praise?) *praise-Polite-Past

This phenomenon may be, as with ConGer(E)4, a case of avoidance of the use of the passive verbal form. However, in both cases, the temporary use of the passive verb can be regarded as improvement from the use of the active, provided that these learners actually attempted to produce the passive verbs. This is clearly the case with ConGer(E)4, although, with ExGu/E 6, no clear evidence is available to prove this.

A possible move away from actives to passives is also observable in ConC/E2, who temporarily produced the passive verb with *humu* (to step on), which s/he referred to as incorrect and changed to the active with *te simau* (regrettably) (see Section 5-1-4), before changing it to the active.

The above phenomena indicate that the productions of passive verbal forms are sometimes unstable and can quickly be abandoned at this stage of learning¹⁸. This confirms the hypothesis regarding difficulty of *ni* passives (Hypothesis 1), and can also provide explanation for some of the uses of passive particles combined with an active verb (see Section 5-1-3).

Another point to note is a reduction in the use of passive verbs with incorrect particles, from 0.105 in Posttest 1 to 0.063 in Posttest 2, by the learners in the Experimental group. This seems to have been caused by the two learners (especially ExGu/E6 and possibly ExE4, if the verb used by this learner is regarded as the active in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) (see Table 5-2)), who used the active in Posttest 2. This is a case of backsliding and disconfirms Hypothesis 4b. Also, none of the learners who had used the passive verb with incorrect particles in Posttest 1

¹⁷ I shall not mark ungrammatical utterances in the excerpts with an asterisk to avoid complication and confusion.

¹⁸ ConE6, who produced *Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*ni* (to) Pass with *homeru* (to praise), also stated later that the intended verbal form was the active, plain form in the past tense, *home-ta* (praise-Past) (see note ii below Table 5-2). This kind of change suggests lack of clear motivation for the use of the passive verbal form and the unstable nature of its appearance.

produced the appropriate *ni* passives in Posttest 2, again disconfirming Hypothesis 4b. This is despite the exposure to the TL in Japan, and in this sense, Hypothesis 6d was not supported. This raises an issue of activation of knowledge, which we shall return to in Chapter 6, Section 4-5.

So far, I have concentrated on the use of passive verbal forms. The next question is how these passive verbs were produced with incorrect particles. One prominent characteristic of this phenomenon is the frequent appearance of *Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) (or unmarked agent with ConE5's second form) at the utterance initial position, or the 'First Noun Principle in Production', which was also observed in Posttest 1. This again confirms Hypothesis 4a, as well as Hypothesis 1 (difficulty of *ni* passives). As Table 5-2 shows, this form appeared in thirteen out of fourteen or fifteen utterances¹⁹ that belong to the 'verb only' category. It seems to be a common and persistent tendency for learners to treat the agent as the main focus of concern and mark it with *ga/wa*, and/or place this noun in the utterance initial position.

The immediate self-correction of *watasi-ni* (Poss-to) to *watasi-no te-ni* (P-to), in ConE5's utterance in (16), is interesting for the reasons I have pointed out in Section 4-2-2, in relation to Hypothesis 4a.

ConE5 (*humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2)

(16) **Siranai hito-wa* ***watasi-ni*** ah *watasi-no* ***te-ni*** (R) *hum-are-ta* (R).
 stranger-Top I-to my hand-to step on-Pass-Past

This recasting may mean that ConE5 regarded the possessor rather than the patient as the recipient of the influence of the action taken by the agent at the moment when s/he uttered *watasi-ni*. This can be considered a crucial moment in learning. See Chapter 6, Section 6-2 for an elaboration of this point. It might be added that the fact that this did not happen until Posttest 2 means a slower pace of progress of this learner, who is in the Control group (confirming Hypothesis 1).

Finally, unlike the NSs (see Section 3), none of the learners used the DP with *nusumu/toru* (to steal), and the use of the DP for the PP items was observed in only one learner in the Experimental group (ExC1) with *humu* (to step on). This generally supports Hypothesis 4c. This phenomenon will be discussed in detail in the next

¹⁹ The total number of the utterances with the passive verb is fifteen if we include ExE4 in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal), who produced a verbal form that may be regarded as the passive, and fourteen if we exclude this learner.

chapter.

5-1-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs

The relevant data for this category are set out in Table 5-3:

Table 5-3. Posttest 2: passive particles, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
	Verb		
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	0/7	0/10
	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	0/7	1/10 (ExC1)
	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	0/7	0/10
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	1/7 (ConC/E1) + <i>te simau</i> (regrettably)	1/10 (ExC1)
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	1/7 (ConC/E1)	0/10
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	1/7 (ConC/E1)	0/10 ⁱ
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	0/7 ⁱⁱ	0/10
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	0/7	0/10 or 1/10 (ExE4) ⁱⁱⁱ
Total (Proportion)		3/56 (0.054)	2/80 or 3/80 (0.025 or 0.038)

Additional notes

i. ExE(Fr)7 initially marked the agent with *wa* (Top) and changed it to *kara* (from), and produced the active verb. The use of this particle may be related to the passive with Ag-*kara* in Ag-*kara omosiroi to iwareta* (Literally: I was told that I was fun 'from' the agent and was positively 'affected' by this). However, there is no evidence to support this observation.

ii. In one of the utterances that ConE3 produced, s/he temporarily marked the agent with *ni* (by) (and changed it to *o* (Acc)).

iii. ExE4 added *no* (Gen?) after P-*o* (Acc) and uttered 'P-*oo -no*'. It is not clear what the appearance of *no* here means. Therefore, I have entered 0% or 10% in the table. This learner used the particle *ni* (by) on the agent.

Passive particles: Summary of the results

There were only three uses of passive particles, made by the same learner (ConC/E1), in the Control group, and another two or three (see note iii below Table 5-3), made by one or two different learners (ExC1 and possibly ExE4), in the Experimental group. There is little difference between the two groups in terms of the number of the learners who used the passive particles in Posttest 2.

The same problem of analysing the data in the use of the passive particles with active verbs that was observed in Posttest 1 occurred. ConC/E1, for instance, combined Ag-*ni* (by) with active verbs in three items. However, s/he may have actually been aware that s/he should use passive verbs, but was simply not sure of these particular verbal forms and used active verbs. That is, it may have been a

problem with morphological accuracy rather than the production of the passive constructions themselves. As it was the case with Posttest 1, this may be reflected in pauses and hesitation in this learner's utterances, although this is no more than a possibility, as I already pointed out. The following is an example from *iu* (to say/tell) (negative):

Excerpt (17)

ConC/E1 (*iu* (negative) in Posttest 2)

- 1 ConC/E1: *Sakki John-to iu-no tomodati-ni etto* ^[n?] L *ee tumaranai to*
earlier friend [called] John-by well mm? er that I'm boring
- 2 ^[i-t (1) te (1)] ^[i-ma^{H&WH}si] *e? nn! (1) ee? L.*
say-Prog-Polite er? mm! er?
- 3 I: L.
- 4 ConC/E1: *Sakki*
earlier
- 5 I: *Nn.* (Mm.)
- 6 ConC/E1: *John-to iu-no tomodati-ni* (E) *ettoo tumaranai to* *yu-t (2)*
friend [called] John-by well that I'm boring say(-Ger)
- 7 ^[ee to/eeto] *it-te i- masi,-ta kara*
er that/well say-Prog-Polite-Past because (of that)
- 8 I: *Nn.*
- 9 ConC/E1: *imaa ee? kanasii*
now er? I'm sad
- 10 I: ^[Nn.]
- 11 ConC/E1: *desu.*

In the above case, ConC/E1 displayed difficulty in producing the verb. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the intended form was the passive, one possible reason for using the active verb is not being familiar with the passive verbal form (in the sense that ConC/E1 did not know the form or was not confident with it), as mentioned above. If this is the case, what we are looking at here is a case of avoidance of the use of the passive verb, although the possibility that the production of the passive verb was not intended cannot be denied. Given that ConC/E1 produced Pass + *te simau* (regrettably) elsewhere, and had metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning of passives + *te simau* (see Chapter 6, Section 3), it may be the case that this learner was unable to apply the rule or the notion s/he may have used in producing Pass + *te simau* to the above and other items for which s/he used active verbs.

The use of Ag-*ni* (by) with an active verb confirms Hypothesis 4a, and was also observed in the utterances of ExE4 in the use of *humu* (to step on) (see, however,

note iii below Table 5-3), and ExC1 in the use of *warau* (to laugh), and *tataku* (to hit) after showing a sign of confusion. It also appeared temporarily in ConE3 in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal). This means that the agent was not regarded as the grammatical subject when Ag-*ni* appeared and this could mark a step away from the reliance on actives (or the 'First Noun Principle in Production'). However, with ConE3, the *ni* marking of the agent was quickly abandoned and changed to *o* (Acc). It is necessary to observe the learners who used Ag-*ni* temporarily or as a final form in Posttest 2 for a prolonged period of time after this test to examine possible significance of the appearance of this form. However, such longer-term observation was not feasible in the present study. As in Posttest 1, it cannot be denied that there is the possibility that the use of Ag-*ni*, followed by an active verb, actually reflects little more than simple confusion over the use of particles on the part of the learners.

Finally, the 'separate' encoding of the possessor (or the speaker) in the PP items that I argued to be significant in Sections 4-2-2, 4-2-3 and 5-1-2 was observed in ExE5's utterances with *humu* (to step on) in (18), which was self-corrected to (19):

ExE5 (*humu* in Posttest 2)

(18) **onna-no koto-wa um watasi-ni* (1) er *te* -de/te *husi-masi-ta.*
 [woman]-Top I-to hand-by/hand *step on-Polite-Past

(19) **onna-no koto-wa (-)wa watasi-ga watasi-no te* (E) *-de* (1) um
 [woman]-Top (I)/-Top I-Nom my hand-by
 husi-masi-ta.
 *step on-Polite-Past

Although the appearances of the 'affected' person (or the possessor separated from the patient) in the PP as well as the use of Ag-*ni* are interesting and possibly reflect the stages of learning, these learners' progress need to be checked on a longer-term basis, which was not possible in the present study, as mentioned above. What can be said is that the hypothesis regarding the intermediate forms containing active and passive properties (Hypothesis 4a) was supported in Posttest 2 in the same way as in Posttest 1. However, the fact that the learners could not produce these passives appropriately even after exposure to the TL in Japan also means that learning of *ni* passives is difficult (confirming Hypothesis 1 and disconfirming Hypothesis 6d).

Finally, Hypothesis 4b that the use of incomplete or incorrect *ni* passives would decline with increased proficiency from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2 was only partially

supported here, in that only one learner (ExC(E)3) progressed from the use of the passive particles to the appropriate passive in the use of one or two (see note i below Table 4-3) verbs. One learner in the Control group (ConE5), who had used passive particles with *A + te simau* (regrettably) in Posttest 1, produced the passive verb only in Posttest 2 with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off). The rest (mostly those in the Control group) showed backsliding and used the active in Posttest 2, despite the exposure to the TL in Japan (disconfirming Hypothesis 6d).

5-1-4. Use of *te simau/tyau* (regrettably) and benefactives

The use of *te simau/tyau* (regrettably) by the two groups is presented in Table 5-4:

Table 5-4. Posttest 2: *te simau/tyau* and benefactives, Control and Experimental groups

Passive type	Group	Control (n = 7)	Experimental (n = 10)
	Verb		
DP	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off)	1/7 (ConC/E1) Pass + <i>te simau</i>	1/10 (ExE(Fr)7) ⁱ <i>A + te simau</i>
	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	1/7 (ConC/E1) *P-ni <i>A + te simau</i>	0/10
	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	0/7 (ConC/E1 Ben) <i>te morau</i>	0/10
	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	1/7 (ConC/E1) ⁱⁱ *Ag-ni <i>A + te simau</i>	0/10
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative)	0/7	0/10
	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive)	0/7	0/10
PP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal)	1/7 (ConE5) *Ag-ga P-o Pass → later: *Ag P-o Pass + <i>tyau</i>	0/10 ⁱⁱⁱ
	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	1/7 (ConC/E1) Pass + <i>te simau</i>	0/10
Total (Proportion)		5/56 (0.089)	1/80 (0.013)

Additional notes

i. ExE(Fr)7 initially produced Ag-wa (Top) A and changed A to *A + te simau*.

ii. ConC/E1 also produced **yogorete simemasita* (regrettably? got dirty) in the subordinate clause in describing a situation in which someone laughs at his/her dirty face. The intended form may have been *yogorete simaimasita* (regrettably got dirty).

iii. ExC1 produced the passive in the gerundive form *nusum-are-te* (steal-Pass-Ger) and stated after pauses and hesitation that s/he could not remember what to do. S/he eventually produced Pass + *te aru* (stative). It is possible that this learner had *te simau* in mind but this cannot be proven.

Te simau/tyau and benefactives: Summary of the results

Although the number of occurrences of *te simau/tyau* is clearly larger in the Control

group than in the Experimental group, four out of five uses of this form by the learners in the Control group (two of which were combined with the *ni* passive) were made by ConC/E1 and one by ConE5. As in Posttest 1, the use of the A + *te simau* form was not expected, since the pictures depicted feelings stronger than regret or misfortune that *te simau* typically encodes. However, notably, these are the learners who showed success or partial success in using *ni* passives in other items²⁰. It seems that they were both learning to encode their feelings in their utterances. This point will be discussed in the next chapter.

Also, *te simau* appeared temporarily in ConC/E2's utterances, in which s/he showed clear signs of confusion over the verbal forms (see Section 5-1-2). What is interesting is the switch from the passive verb to A + *te simau*²¹ (**hum-a simai-masi-ta* (*step on-A/Pass?-regrettably-Polite-Past)), after the appearances of active-like forms. It seems that this learner was trying to encode feelings when these forms occurred, although s/he settled for the active without *te simau* in the end (see Chapter 6, Section 5 for a discussion of this learner's performance).

Finally, as for the use of benefactives for the 'positive' items (*homeru* (to praise) and *iu* (to say/tell) (positive)), which was not observed in Posttest 1, only one learner in the Control group (ConC/E1) used *homete morau* (to receive a favour of praising) with Ag-*ni* (Dat)²². This form appeared in one of the NS subjects (and Ag-*ga homete kureru* (the agent 'gives' a favour of/does a favour by praising) appeared in another). Therefore ConC/E1's choice of *te morau* may be regarded as acceptable although it was much less common than the *ni* passive *homerareru*.

²⁰ See Chapter 2, Section 4 for a detailed discussion of the characteristics that *ni* passives, *te simau* (regrettably) and benefactives share.

²¹ As we have seen in Section 4-2-4, this switch was also observed in ConGer(E)4 in the use of *musumu/toru* (to steal).

²² In fact, ConC/E1 paused and showed hesitation after producing Ag-*ni* (by/Dat) and *homm*, as shown below:

ConC/E1 (*homeru* (to praise) in Posttest 2)

ConC/E1: *Kinoo* *otoosan-ni* (SE&SR) *eetoo* (2) *[n?]* (1) *nm*
yesterday father-by/-Dat well mm? mmm

I: L.

ConC/E1: (2) *nm* (3) *otoosan-ni* (SE&SR) *ettoo* (4) *n?* *siken* *[no/-o]* *tameni* *[homm]* (7) *[ee/aa]* (2)
mm father-by/-Dat well mm? [because of] the exam praise/*praise(-*Pass)

home-te (1) *morai-masi-ta* *kara uresii*.

praise-Ben: receive a favour-Polite-Past because (of that) I'm happy

(I'm happy because I received my father's favour of praising me because of the exam yesterday.)

It is possible that this learner was actually trying to produce *home-rare-masi-ta* (praise-Pass-Polite-Past) but opted for the benefactive because s/he was not confident with the passive verbal form.

5-1-5. Summary of Posttest 2

From the results obtained in Posttest 2, the following picture emerges:

(1) The faster pace of learning and higher levels of accuracy achieved by the learners in the Experimental group

Given that the Experimental group clearly outperformed the Control group in the appropriate use of *ni* passives (both in terms of the number of successful learners and the range of test items including positive situations), and the Control group only showed limited improvement in the use of passive verbs and *te simau* (regrettably), it can be said that the pace of learning was quicker for the Experimental group than the Control group, and the learners in the Experimental group achieved higher levels of accuracy than those in the Control group. This confirms Hypotheses 3a & 3b, and Hypothesis 1 for the Control group.

(2) The persistent appearance of *Ag-ga (Nom)/-wa (Top) Pass

The *Ag-ga (Nom)/-wa (Top) Pass form continued to persist in the use of the passive verbs with incorrect particles. This means that the 'First Noun Principle in Production' was still in operation in Posttest 2, which confirms Hypothesis 4a.

(3) The appearance of passive-like properties (possessor in the PP items and Ag-ni (by))

Some of the passive-like features that appeared in Posttest 1 were observed in some of the learners in both groups in Posttest 2. These include the appearance of the possessor in the PP items and Ag-ni (by). This means the Hypothesis 4a was supported in the same way as in Posttest 1, although, as in Posttest 1, the appearance of the 'separate possessor' itself was not predicted. However, no notable differences between the two groups were observed in the use of these forms. It was noted that the significance of these forms cannot be clarified without longer-term observations of these learners.

(4) Generally successful avoidance of the use of the DP for the PP items

As in Posttest 1, the negative evidence regarding the use of the DP instead of PPs seems to have resulted in general success in avoiding this form, as predicted by

Hypothesis 4c. There was only one learner in the Experimental group who produced this form in the use of *humu* (to step on). I shall discuss this phenomenon in the next chapter.

(5) The appearance of *te simau* (regrettably) in the learners of both groups and its relation to learning to produce *ni* passives

Those learners who used *te simau* (regrettably) in Posttest 2 are the ones who were also successful or partially successful in producing *ni* passives with some of the verbs in the same test. It was concluded that these learners seem to have gained some general ability to encode their feelings in their utterances, in the form of regret or 'affectivity' (Experimental group)/adversity (Control group).

5-2. Results from non-native speakers: Year 4 data

From the role play and two speeches (or one, in the case of ExE9 and ExE10)²³, as well as in spontaneous speech where available, the following appearances of *ni* passives were observed in the learners who produced appropriate *ni* passives in Posttest 2. Since the purpose of the Year 4 data collection was to check the retention of use of *ni* passives, only the verbs that were used in the appropriate passive forms in Posttest 2 are presented here. The non-appearance of certain verbs that were used in Posttest 2 in the Year 4 data does not necessarily mean that the learner was unable to produce them; it only means that data containing them had not been collected or found at the time of data collection. Also, the appearance of certain *ni* passives in the table does not mean that the learners were able to produce them on any occasions or under any conditions. As before, I shall regard verbal forms such as **tor-e-ru* for *tor-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) as passives.

²³ See Chapter 4, Section 2-5-1.

Table 6. NNS responses: retention of the use of *ni* passives in Year 4

Subjects	Role play	Speech 1	Speech 2	Spontaneous speech
ConC/E1	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) DP? (P-wa Ag- <i>ni</i> Pass)			
ExC1				<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP (three times)
ExC2	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (negative) *DP (*Ag Pass)	<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (positive) DP	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP (once) & DP? (P-wa Ag- <i>ni</i> Pass) (once)
ExC(E)3	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP		<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP (twice)	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) At least one use of possible PP (P (Ag- <i>ni</i>) Pass)*
ExE(Fr)7	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP (twice)			<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) PP (once) & PP (DP?) (P Pass-Neg) (once)
ExE9	<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) A PP (DP?) (P Pass) PP (DP?) (P Pass-Neg)	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/tell off) DP	Not tested	

Speech 1: *Watasi-no kiraina mono* (Something I do not like)

Speech 2: *Saiaiku-no hi* (The worst day of my life)

* This learner stated

Zenbu ^pdoroboo-ni ... tor-are-masi-ta

Everything thief-by steal-Pass-Polite-Past

(I had everything stolen by the thief and was negatively 'affected' by this. / Everything was stolen by the thief).

It is possible that s/he also used active(s), but the recording is unclear.

As the table shows, the role play triggered the use of passives with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in all of the above learners except for ExC1. However, the topical marking or no marking of the patient indicates that the intended form may have been the DP, with the topicalised P-*ga* (Nom), in the former case. However, since a small number of NSs used the DP with *nusumu/toru* for the Posttest 2 item, this can be regarded as acceptable, especially because the picture used in the role play was similar to the Posttest 2 item. ExC(E)3 also produced PPs with *nusumu/toru* in the speech on 'The worst day of my life', and ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3 (see the note below Table 6) and ExE(Fr)7 also used the PP at least once with the same verb spontaneously when asked whether they (or a friend) had been involved in a theft. With regard to other verbs, ExC2 used the passive with *iu* (to say/tell) in both of the speeches (in a negative context in Speech 1 and positive in Speech 2). The former contained an

unmarked agent, which led to ungrammaticality of this utterance, and the latter was used appropriately. ExE9 produced the appropriate DP with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) in the speech on 'Something I do not like'.

Overall, the results from the Year 4 data suggest that retention of the use of *ni* passives is possible (cf. Hypothesis 5a). However, the claim regarding semantic impact of *ni* passives, which was addressed in Hypotheses 5a & 5b in Chapter 3 in relation to the effects of teaching the 'affectivity' meaning, needs to be examined by referring to the metalinguistic comments the learners made. This will be done in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion

1. Introduction

Having presented the data from the experiments and the Year 4 follow-up study, the next task is to discuss the results. I shall first compare the phenomena observed in the performance of the two groups of learners in Posttest 1 and Posttest 2. The four categories used in Chapter 5 of the appropriate *ni* passives, passive verbs, passive(-like) particles and *te simau* (regrettably) will be followed to discuss the issues of difficulty of *ni* passives (Research Question 1), the effects of teaching the notion of 'affectivity' (Research Question 3) and intermediate forms (Research Question 4). This will be followed by an examination of each learner in terms of the patterns of their progress or change from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2, and in Year 4, to attempt to answer the question regarding retention of the use of *ni* passives (Research Question 5). After this, the factors affecting learning to produce *ni* passives (Research Question 6) will be identified, and the roles of metalinguistic knowledge, which seems to have played a crucial role in this study, will be discussed. Following this, the issue of the processes of learning to produce DPs and PPs will be focused on in relation to the roles of metalinguistic knowledge. Finally, the answers to the research questions regarding learning of *ni* passives by NNSs will be summarised.

2. Overall tendencies observed in the two groups in Posttest 1 and Posttest 2

2-1. Levels of success of the two groups of learners

We have seen in Posttest 1 that overall, the learners in the Experimental group outperformed those in the Control group particularly in the appropriate use of *ni* passives. The learners in the Control group achieved little success, showing very limited evidence of attempted production of *ni* passives. This means that the pace of learning was faster in the Experimental group. Also, the fact that many more learners in this group produced passives without errors in the use of particles means that they achieved higher levels of accuracy than those in the Control group in Posttest 1. These observations indicate the advantage of the way in which *ni* passives were taught to the learners in the Experimental group, supporting Hypotheses 3a (and also 3b to some extent, given the small number of the verbs tested in Posttest 1), and

difficulty of *ni* passives for the learners in the Control group (Hypothesis 1).

The better performance of the learners in the Experimental group in the appropriate use of *ni* passives was even more prominent in Posttest 2. The number of the learners who produced *ni* passives consistently increased in this group. Moreover, only the learners in the Experimental group produced positive passives (with *homeru* (to praise) and *iu* (to say/tell) (positive)) with correct particles in Posttest 2. Again, the Control group hardly made any improvement in the appropriate use of *ni* passives, with only one learner producing the *ni* passive in combination with *te simau* (regrettably) in only two test items. In Posttest 2, it was in the 'verb only' category and in the use of *te simau*, and not in the appropriate use of *ni* passives, that the total occurrences of these forms increased in the Control group. However, it is important to note that most of these forms were produced by the same learner. This means that Hypothesis 1 was supported in Posttest 2 as well.

Given that overall considerably more learners in the Experimental group achieved success in the appropriate use of *ni* passives, and that some of the learners in the Control group seem only to have started to move away from the use of actives in Posttest 2, it can be concluded that the tendency of the Experimental group to display a faster pace of learning and higher levels of accuracy in the use of *ni* passives remained the same in both tests. This confirms Hypotheses 3a & 3b.

Among the verbs tested in the present study, those used to teach passives in class or which appeared frequently in the textbook (that is, *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *toru* (to steal)¹ and *humu* (to step on)) seem to have been used by the learners in their passive forms in Posttest 1. That is, familiarity with the passive forms and/or the situations in which they appeared seems to have affected their production. The very few appearances of other verbs in passive forms are not surprising in this respect. It was in Posttest 2 that three learners in the Experimental group were observed to use *ni* passives with *iu* (to say/tell) (positive), *iu* (negative) and *warau* (to laugh). This may mean that these learners expanded their ability to use *ni* passives to these verbs after exposure to the TL in Japan (see Section 4-5)² (Hypotheses 6d & 3b).

Another possibility is that those verbs whose actions in the experiments could not

¹ Although *nusumu* (to steal) does not appear in the textbook, it is still possible that the learners were familiar with the use of the *ni* passive in a theft situation.

² For instance, *iw-are-ru* (say/tell-Pass-Nonpast) has been found to be frequently used by NSs (Heo 2005, Okutsu 1983, Michiharu Tanaka 2005).

be taken without involving the speaker (*sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on)) triggered passives in Posttest 1, rather than those verbs that describe actions that can be taken without a transfer of energy to the speaker and therefore can be used intransitively (*warau* (to laugh) and *iu* (to say/tell)). This is understandable, in that the latter can happen independently of the speaker and thus s/he does not have to appear as the subject/topic in a passive utterance, or at all. This means that the verbs that do not necessarily involve the speaker or intransitive verbs may have been difficult to use in passive constructions³.

In the case of those learners who could produce *ni* passives across different items, it is possible that they had some underlying notion to be utilised in applying the use of passives to various 'affective' situations. One possible notion that may have been used is that of 'affectivity'. I shall return to this matter below. Notably, some of the learners in the Experimental group used the *ni* passive for *tataku* (to hit) and *homeru* (to praise), for which only two out of ten NSs used the active (benefactives for *homeru*). This means that these learners extended the use of *ni* passives even to the two items (verbs) for which NSs showed some variation (see Chapter 5, Section 3, where it was noted that inclusion of *tataku* in Posttest 2 would allow a check of whether the learners could generalise the use of *ni* DP to this verb, and that *homeru* could test whether they could encode positive 'affectivity'). They successfully encoded the 'affectivity' meanings in their utterances for situations that can be regarded as having 'affected' them emotionally. Also, one learner in the Control group used the benefactive *homete morau* (to receive a favour of praising). The appearance of this benefactive construction is important, since the active without the benefactive form for this verb, *Otoosan-ga watasi-o hometa* (My father praised me) can give an impression that the speaker does not consider this event as a happy one.

Finally, it is notable that, unlike NSs, the appearance of the *ni* passive combined with *te simau* (regrettably) was infrequent in the learners' utterances. This may be because this construction is morphologically complex and thus was too difficult for them, or because the learners did not feel the necessity to encode multiple types of feelings, that is, regret on top of 'affectivity', in their utterances, as mentioned in Chapter 5.

³ This claim needs to be tested using a larger number of verbs including intransitive verbs, as well as on a larger number of learners.

What is interesting in terms of the processes of learning to produce *ni* passives is the learners' partial ability to use them (Research Question 4), that is, the occurrences of passive verbs with incorrect particles, the use of the passive particles with active verbs, the production of certain other incorrect but notable particles, and the use of *te simau* (regrettably), as we have seen in Chapter 5. I shall relate the results from the two tests for each of these phenomena in turn.

2-2. Use of passive verbs with incorrect particles

The Experimental group performed better than the Control group in the use of passive verbs alone, although the difference between the two groups was less prominent than in the appropriate use of *ni* passives in Posttest 1. The difference was clear (especially in the two PP items) if we look at the use of passive verbs with or without the correct particles. This is important because the production of a passive verb is a manifestation of a learner's attempt to produce a passive construction.

In Posttest 2, a small number of the learners in the Control group showed evidence of moving away from the reliance on actives, and started to encode in their utterances the adversity meanings of *ni* passives (which are similar to the 'nuance of PPs' in Tanaka's (2000, p. 239) words but in a wider sense in that this is not limited to PPs), by producing passive verbs. This is evidenced in the metalinguistic comments they made (see below). Importantly, this means that passive verbal forms were treated as meaningful grammatical forms (see Chapter 3, Section 4-2), and this assisted the processing and the production of these forms (VanPatten 2004a). It can also be said that the semantic meanings of *ni* passives had an impact on these learners (Tanaka 1999c, p. 157). However, in these learners the associations between the forms and the meanings of *ni* passives were partial and the meanings of these passives were only projected to the verbal forms and not to the passive constructions as a whole including the particles.

What is important to note in the above observation is the fact that the move from the use of actives to *ni* passives did not happen suddenly or as a whole; the use of the passive verb was mostly accompanied by the active particle on the agent, *Ag-wa* (Top) or *Ag-ga* (Nom), placed in the utterance initial position in both tests, indicating the persistent nature of the 'First Noun Principle in Production', confirming Hypothesis 4a.

The failure to produce the correct particles may also be explained in terms of the limited nature of available attentional resources on the part of the learners, following VanPatten (2004a) (see Chapter 3, Section 4-1). That is, these learners did not notice or take in relevant particles in addition to passive verbal forms in input processing, due to their current stage of learning. Processing of passive particles as well as passive verbal forms is likely to take up a considerable amount of attentional resources and some of the learners may only have enough for either verbal forms or particles. In production, the learner may have associated the use of passive verbs with certain situations via or without the mediation of the 'affectivity'/adversity meaning (see Section 5)⁴. However, their attention was only directed at the production of passive verbal forms, and not to particles. The resulting utterance is an ungrammatical combination of passive verbs and active particles, such as **Ag-ga* (Nom) *P-o* (Acc) Pass, which causes confusion as to who was 'affected' by whom.

The move away from actives to passives was also observed in both tests in the temporary use of passive verbs, which were eventually reverted to active verbs. Avoidance of this kind is caused by lack of confidence in the correctness of the choice or use of the passive verb. This also means that the use of passive verbs is unstable before learners gain confidence. I shall return to the issue of how learners may gain confidence in the use of passives in Section 5. For those learners who initially produced passive verbs temporarily and reverted to active verbs, but learned to produce passives with or without correct particles later on, output may have played an important role in stabilising the use of *ni* passives (or passive verbs) (see Chapter 1, Section 4). They noticed that they could not produce the relevant passive verbs when they reverted to the actives (noticing the gap) (see e.g., Swain 1993, 1995 and Chapter 1, Section 4). This gap may have been filled in after they obtained relevant input by paying attention to the forms that occurred in input, directly asking the teacher, consulting a textbook/dictionary and so on. They may have also found out that *ni* passives are selected for 'affective' situations. These factors may have resulted in stabilising the production of *ni* passives⁵.

⁴ As I shall demonstrate later in Section 5, the association between the situations and the passive (verbs) without mediation of the meanings/function of *ni* passives is not as helpful as knowing the 'affectivity' (or adversity) meaning of *ni* passives.

⁵ Also, the temporary and tentative production of passive verbs can be regarded as a manifestation of the learners' testing their hypotheses regarding the relevance of the use of the passive verbs. This is what Swain (1993, 1995, 1998) called the hypothesis testing function of output. By testing their hypotheses, learners may

Finally, the differences between the Experimental and Control groups were noted in Posttest 1 in the PP items *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on). The appearance of the possessor *watasi* (I) separated from the patient *saihu* (purse) or *asi* (foot) was observed in three learners in the Experimental group, whereas this did not happen to the learner in the Control group who used the passive verb with *humu*⁶. This difference is important since the encoding of the 'separate possessor' (especially as the topic) is one of the properties of the PP (cf. Hypothesis 4a). It can be said that these learners in the Experimental group showed a sign of progress in Posttest 1 and this can be attributed to the effects of instruction in which the importance of describing the possessor as an 'affected' person was brought to the learners' attention (Hypothesis 3a). I shall discuss how this phenomenon can be explained in cognitive terms in Section 6-2.

In Posttest 2, one learner in the Control group (ConE5) produced Poss-*ni* (to) and immediately changed it to P-*ni* (to) in the use of *humu* (to step on). It was suggested that this temporary appearance of the possessor may indicate that this learner was moving away from the use of the active to the PP. Notably, s/he also achieved partial success in producing *ni* passives with other verbs as well in Posttest 2, and exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning of the passive (+ *te simau* (regrettably)) (see Section 6-2). The fact that this did not happen until Posttest 2 again suggests the slower pace of learning of this learner, who was in the Control group (Hypothesis 1).

2-3. Use of passive and other notable particles with active verbs

The use of passive particles in combination with an active verb caused difficulty in interpreting data in both tests. Unlike the use of a passive verb, it cannot be assumed that such a form is a manifestation of a learner's attempt to produce a passive utterance. One cannot deny the possibility that the learner was merely confused about particles in general. This problem cannot be solved without eliciting comments from the learner regarding his/her intention to produce a passive utterance. The use of think-aloud protocols, for instance, may be useful in this respect.

obtain feedback from their interlocutor and this may contribute to subsequent learning. However, in the present study, provision of feedback was obviously impossible in the test situations of the experiments.

⁶ In the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in Posttest 1, this learner uttered Ag-*ni* (by) P-*o* (Acc) and asked 'How do you say stolen?' As I mentioned before, s/he seems to have attempted to produce the PP. Here, it should be noted that Poss-*wa* (Top) may have been implicit in this utterance. However, as s/he opted for A + *te simau* (regrettably) rather than the passive verb, this utterance is not included in the discussion here.

However, it was not possible to adopt this method in this study because my intention was to elicit utterances as naturally as possible without encouraging learners to reflect on their intention whilst performing the task. Further studies with a focus on the use of passive particles with active verbs are necessary.

Given the uncertainty of a learner's intention in the production of passive particles with an active verb, we can only consider two different possibilities. First, if a learner had intended to produce a passive utterance, and produced an active verb nevertheless, this may be because s/he simply did not know the passive verbal form and resorted to the avoidance strategy, although s/he knew that the passive verb would be appropriate. This may be reflected in pauses and/or hesitation in producing the verbal form, as well as in self-corrections from a passive or passive-like verb to an active verb. On the other hand, if the production of the passive was not intended, this may be because s/he had not noticed passive verbs in input or taken them into his/her linguistic system, and therefore had not learned passive constructions. This may be because the learner could only process the lexical **meanings** of the verbal stems and not the passive verbal **forms**, which were not regarded as meaningful (VanPatten 2004a). As in the case of the production of a passive verb with active particles, lack of attentional resources (which is not related to a learner's intention) may also be responsible for this phenomenon. That is, the learner may not have noticed passive verbs in input because s/he did not have sufficient attentional resources given his/her current stage of learning (VanPatten 2004a). In production, s/he simply could not use passive verbs as well as particles because s/he did not have sufficient attentional resources, and could only manage to encode the lexical semantic specification of the nature of the action taken by the agent (such as standing on one's foot rather than kicking it, for instance) by the use of the active verb, which was easier to produce than the passive verb. In this case, there may not be extended pauses and/or hesitation in the production of the verbal form since the learner may not have to try or struggle to use the passive verb.

Further possible evidence of the relevance of attentional resources in the use of passive particles with an active verb is available. Possible use of the correct particles P-o (Acc) Ag-ni (by) in

- (1) **te-oo -no*⁷ (3) SH *ano hito-ni*
 hand-Acc -Gen? that person-by

with an active verb was observed in ExE4's utterance in the use of *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2. As in Posttest 1, this learner commented that she had been practising this form in class before Posttest 2 at the Japanese university where s/he was studying. This means that s/he was (or thought s/he was) familiar with the situation and possibly with the relevant form. However, it seems that the effect of the practice ExE4 had engaged in was only reflected in the use of the particles, but not in the production of the passive verbal form. This may be because this learner was only able to pay attention to the former but not to the latter as well within the same utterance, due to the lack of attentional resources, when s/he was practicing or when producing the above utterance.

In the present study, little difference between the Experimental and Control groups was found in both tests in terms of the number of occurrences of passive particles with an active verb. However, as in the use of passive verbs with incorrect particles, an examination of the actual particles used by the learners in Posttest 1 revealed an interesting difference between the two groups. Only the learners in the Experimental group produced *Ag-de* (by/due to) in the PP item *nusumu/toru* (to steal). The fact that this form appeared across experimental groups (1998 and 1999 entry groups) indicates that this phenomenon is probably not accidental or specific to a particular learner or group but possibly systematic, although this claim needs to be re-examined on a larger sample of learners. The particle *de* here seems to have been used instrumentally (as 'by'), as in *basu-de iku* (to go **by** bus) and *kaze-de tobasareru* (to be blown off **by** the wind), or causally (as 'due to') as in *ziko-de okureru* (to be late **due to** an accident), instead of *Ag-ni* (**by** the agent). Although these forms were both followed by the active *nusumi-masi-ta/tori-masi-ta* (steal-Polite-Past), it is clear that the use of *Ag-de* indicates that these learners did not conceptualise the event as an active, transitive *Ag-ga* (Nom) *P-o* (Acc) *nusumi-masi-ta/tori-masi-ta* (steal-Polite-Past) (The agent stole the patient), in which the agent is the trajector from which the action of stealing originates. Thus the use of *Ag-de* indicates a move away from the active transitive, possibly towards the

⁷ The meaning of the use of *no* after *P-o* is not clear. I have regarded this as possible use of the accusative *o* and noted the marking of the agent with *ni*.

passive (Hypothesis 4a), which some (if not all) of the learners underwent. It also means that the operation of the 'First Noun Principle in Production' was fading away possibly with the learners' improved proficiency or their ability to manipulate particles.

There is evidence in my data that shows that for one of the learners in the Experimental group the *de* marking of the agent was not accidental or caused by confusion, but was deliberate. ExE5 self-corrected *suri-ga* (pickpocket-Nom) to *suri-de* (pickpocket-by/-due to) in Posttest 1, with a clear indication of the former being incorrect, as shown below:

ExE5 (*nusumu/toru* (to steal) in Posttest 1)

(2) **Watasi-no* (1) *sai sai*^{FI}*hu-wa* um (1) ^{FI}*ssuri* (1) ^{SH}*-ga* no ^{WH}*su*
 my purse-Top pickpocket-Nom
suri-de (SR) (1) um (1) um *tori-masi-ta*.
 pickpocket-by/-due to steal-Polite-Past

This utterance indicates that ExE5 initially tried marking the agent as the grammatical subject, but felt that this was incorrect, as reflected in the negation 'no', and marked it with *de* (by/due to). This reflects a stage at which this learner was moving away from the use of the active or the reliance on the 'First Noun Principle in Production' in describing this theft situation. However, the marking of the patient and not the possessor as the topic means that this utterance has a property of the DP and not the PP, unless *saihu-wa* (purse-Top) is the topicalisation of *saihu-o* (purse-Acc). I shall return to the issue of how DPs and PPs differ cognitively in Section 6-2.

Supposing that at least some of the learners who used *Ag-de* in Posttest 1 were in the process of learning to produce the *ni* passive, it is striking that one of the three learners (ExE9) marked the patient with *o* (Acc) in

(3) **Saihu-o* *suri-de* *nusumi-masi-ta*
 purse-Acc pickpocket-by/-due to steal-Polite-Past

and two others (ExE5 and ExGu/E6) with *wa* (Top) in

(4) **Saihu-wa* *suri-de* *tori-masi-ta*.
 purse-Top pickpocket-by/-due to steal-Polite-Past

If *de* was used as 'by' (and instead of *ni* (by)), as mentioned above, the use of the particles in (3) is similar to the PP (with P-*o* (Acc))

- (5) *Saihu-o suri-ni nusum-are-masi-ta*
 purse-Acc pickpocket-by steal-Pass-Polite-Past
 (I had my purse stolen by a pickpocket and was negatively 'affected' by this)

and in (4) it is similar either to the DP

- (6) *Saihu-ga/-wa suri-ni tor-are-masi-ta*
 purse-Nom/-Top pickpocket-by steal-Pass-Polite-Past
 (The/my purse was stolen by a pickpocket)

or to the PP with the topicalised patient (P-*wa*).

What is striking is the fact that these three learners (ExE5, ExGu/E6 and ExE9) who produced Ag-*de* in Posttest 1 performed differently in the subsequent tests depending on how they marked the patient. ExE9, who marked it with *o* (Acc), progressed from *P-*o* Ag-*de* A to the possible correct PP (P Pass)⁸ in the Year 4 test, although this learner was observed to use the active in one of the three occurrences of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in this test, as well as in Posttest 2. It is possible that the appearance of *P-*o* Ag-*de* A in Posttest 1 reflects an effect of instruction (Hypothesis 3a). Although this effect may not have lasted to Posttest 2, possible successful production of the PP with *nusumu/toru* in the Year 4 test points to the possibility that the *P-*o* Ag-*de* A form that appeared in Posttest 1 may have represented an intermediate stage at which ExE9 used *de* instead of *ni* (by) in the course of learning to produce the PP *nusum-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) (Hypothesis 4a). Whether or not this form re-appeared between the use of the active in Posttest 2 and the Year 4 test is not clear since no data were collected between these tests.

The other two learners who produced Ag-*de* with P-*wa* (Top) in the active in Posttest 1 did not display improvement in the production of the PP *nusumareru* and used actives in Posttest 2 and in the Year 4 test. Given that the use of particles in *P-*wa* Ag-*de* A seems to be related to the DP and *P-*o* Ag-*de* A to the PP (assuming that *de* was used instead of *ni* to encode the meaning of 'by'), it is interesting that

⁸ The P Pass form can only be regarded as a possible intended use of the PP, since it is also possible that this form reflects the intended DP, P-*ga* (Nom) Pass.

16 ExE10: *tor-are-masi-ta*.
steal-Pass-Polite-Past

2-4. Use of *te simau/tyau* (regrettably) instead of *ni* passives

We have seen in both tests that some of the learners unexpectedly used *te simau* (regrettably) and encoded their feeling of regret for the situations for which the NSs generally opted for *ni* passives that encode 'affectivity'. We have also seen cases in which a learner used or tried to use a passive verb, and changed it to the active combined with *te simau*, probably in an attempt to encode a different kind of negative feeling. I noted that the use of *te simau* is significant in that the learners encoded, intentionally or unintentionally, their feeling (of regret rather than 'affectivity'/adversity) via this linguistic form. As we have seen in Chapter 2, Section 4, *ni* passives and *te simau* (and benefactives) are used by NSs as devices to encode their affective stances in their utterances. There was another interesting case of the co-occurrence of *te simau* (in the subordinate clause) and the *ni* passive (in the main clause) in

ExE10 (*sikaru* (to scold/tell off) in Posttest 1)

(10) *Watasi-wa* (SR) (1) *syukudai-o wasure^{SH}te simaimasita* kara (1) *sensei-ni* (SR)

because I **regrettably** forgot to do my homework

teacher-by

sika,r-are-masi-ta (SR)

scold-Pass-Polite-Past

(As I regrettably forgot to do my homework, I was scolded by the teacher and was negatively 'affected' by this).

Notably, this learner also produced *ni* passives with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on), suggesting that s/he may have developed some ability to express feelings by linguistic forms.

Indeed, it was found from the available data that the use of *te simau* may be related to learners' production or later production of *ni* passives. That is, those learners who used *te simau* in Posttest 1 also showed some signs of using *ni* passives in the same test and improvement in Posttest 2 in the production of these forms; those who produced *te simau* in Posttest 2 also used passives (with or without correct particles) in some of the test items. These learners' performance is summarised below.

Learners who used *te simau* (regrettably) in Posttest 1:

ExC(E)3: *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on), both in the active;

ConGer(E)4: *nusumu/toru* in the active with the passive particles;

ConE5: *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) in the active with the passive particles.

Signs of using *ni* passives in Posttest 1:

ExC(E)3: passive particles¹¹ with *iu* (to say/tell) (negative) and possibly *warau* (to laugh) (see note 1 below Table 4-3 in Chapter 5, Section 4-2-3);

ConGer(E)4: appropriate *ni* passive with *sikaru*

passive verb with *humu*

passive particles with *nusumu/toru* (combined with *te simau*);

ConE5: passive particles with *sikaru* (combined with *te simau*).

Improvement in Posttest 2:

ExC(E)3: appropriate *ni* passives in all the target items;

ConGer(E)4: passive verb with *sikaru* and *humu*; and temporary passive verb with *homeru* (to praise);

ConE5: passive verb with all the items except for *iu* (positive and negative); and *nusumu/toru* used in the passive verb + *tyau* (regrettably) form.

Learners who used *te simau/tyau* in Posttest 2:

ExE(Fr)7: *sikaru* in the active;

ConC/E1: *sikaru* and *humu*, both combined with the appropriate *ni* passive, *tatoku* (to hit) in the active and *warau* in the active with passive particles;

ConE5: *nusumu/toru* in the passive verb + *tyau* form.

Signs of using *ni* passives in Posttest 2:

ExE(Fr)7: appropriate *ni* passive with all the items but *sikaru* (for which s/he used A + *te simau*), *iu* (positive) (for which s/he used *Ag-kara* (from) A) and *iu* (negative);

ConC/E1: appropriate *ni* passive + *te simau* with *sikaru* and *humu* passive particles with *warau* (in the A + *te simau* form) and *iu* (positive and negative);

ConE5: passive verb with all the items but *iu* (positive and negative); and *nusumu/toru* in the passive verb + *tyau* form.

It is possible that these learners developed the general ability to encode their feelings in their utterances¹² and applied it at least partially to some of the test items. This is

¹¹ As previously mentioned, the use of passive particles does not necessarily indicate the learner's attempt to produce a passive utterance, especially if s/he is simply confused about particles in general.

¹² Crucially, this is what ExC(E)3 explicitly mentioned when s/he referred to the necessity of considering

an important improvement in the use of *ni* passives. Crucially, this observation is supported by metalinguistic comments made by ConE5. S/he commented that *te simau/tyau* encoded regret and Pass + *tyau* meant regret and annoyance. ConC/E1 also stated that Pass + *te simau* (possibly treated as a chunk) was used as an expression to describe something about which one was not happy.

Having compared the results of the two posttests, and pointed out notable phenomena and tendencies in relation to Research Questions 1, 3 and 4, let us now examine how each learner's performance changed from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2, and whether they retained their ability to use *ni* passives in Year 4 (Research Question 5). The issue of semantic impact in relation to Hypotheses 5a & 5b will be discussed in Section 5, where I shall discuss the roles of metalinguistic knowledge.

3. Patterns of change from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2, and retention of use of *ni* passives in Year 4

Up to now, I have mostly discussed and compared the results obtained from the Experimental and Control groups as a whole. The next questions to ask are whether individual learners improved in their performance from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2, and whether (some of) the *ni* passive forms that appeared in Posttest 2 continued to be used later on in Year 4 (i.e., the issue of long-term retention of the use of *ni* passives, or Research Question 5). Tables 1 and 2 show the forms used by individual learners in the two posttests. The comparison is based on the forms that the learners produced as the final forms (after self-corrections), and notable forms, including possible intermediate forms, are added. The relevant information from the Year 4 data, presented in Chapter 5, Section 5-2, is also indicated in the tables. Where metalinguistic comments are available, their types (i.e., the term 'passive' or the meanings of *ni* passives) are shown under each learner's identity code. Each learner's performance and their metalinguistics comments will be discussed in detail later on.

whether one has been affected by the event and which form to use to express this (see Section 4-4).

Abbreviations:

A: Active Attemp: Attempted production not leading to the actual production of the form
 MG: Metalinguistic comment(s) on general characteristics of the Japanese language
 MT: Metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive'
 M*T: Passive referred to as another form (e.g., potential)
 MM: Metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning(s) of *ni* passives neg: negative Part: Passive particles
 PASS: Passive construction pos: positive T1: Posttest 1 T2: Posttest 2 Temp: Temporary
tes: te simau Verb: Passive verb
 Year 4 RP: Appearance(s) of the appropriate *ni* passive in Year 4 role play
 Year 4 SP: Appearance(s) of the appropriate *ni* passive in Year 4 speech(es)
 Year 4 SS: Appearance(s) of the appropriate *ni* passive in Year 4 spontaneous speech
 (In the Year 4 data, the use of the PP, and not the DP, for *nusumu/toru* (to steal) is indicated as the appropriate form. However, a small number of the NSs used the DP in Posttest 2 (theft in an unattended room), which is similar to the role-play situation (burgled flat), and this means that the use of this form may not be inappropriate. This point will be noted later on.)

Table 1. Each learner's use of forms: Control group

		ConC/E1 ¹ T2: M*T & MM of PASS + <i>tes</i>	ConC/E2	ConE3	ConGer (E)4 T1: MM T2: MT & MM	ConE5 T1: MT & MM T2: MT & MM	ConE6 T1: MG	ConE7
<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/ tell off)	T1	A Unknown part	A	A	PASS	Part + A + <i>tes</i>	Verb	A
	T2	PASS + <i>tes</i>	A	A	Verb Temp part	Verb	A	A
<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	T2	A + <i>tes</i>	A	A	A	Verb	A	A
<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	T2	A (Ben: <i>te morau</i>)	A	A ⁱⁱ	A Temp verb	Verb	Verb Later: A intended	A
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	T1	A Unknown part	A	A	A	A Temp verb	A	A
	T2	Part + A + <i>tes</i>	A	A	A	Verb	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (neg)	T1	A Unknown part	A	A	A	A	A	A
	T2	Part	A	A	A	A	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (pos)	T1	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
	T2	Part	A	A	A	A	A	A
<i>Nusumu /toru</i> (to steal)	T1	A Unknown part	Part	A	Part + A + <i>tes</i> (Attemp PP)	A	Part	A
	T2	A	A	A Temp part	A	Verb + <i>tyau</i>	A	A
<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	T1	A Unknown part	A	A	Verb	A	A (*Ag-wa Poss-ga)	A
	T2	PASS + <i>tes</i>	A Temp verb & Temp A? + <i>tes</i>	A	Verb	Verb (Temp *Poss-ni)	A	A
Category (see below)		3	5	7	4	1	4	7

Notes:

- ConC/E1's use of the particle(s) for *sikaru*, *warau*, *iu* (negative), *nusumu/toru* and *humu* in Posttest 1 is unclear due to a problem with the tape recorder. The forms are based on the available recordings and my memory.
- ConE3 used the target verb *homeru* in the complement clause in Ag-wa *homeru to itte imasita* (The agent

said that he would praise me). Since the instruction for the task was simply to use the target verb in one's utterance, it was not possible to avoid this.

Table 2. Each learner's use of forms: Experimental group

		ExC1	ExC2 ¹ T1: MT	ExC(E)3 T1: MM applied to <i>tes</i> T2: MT	ExE4 T1: MT	ExE5 T1: MT
<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/ tell off)	T1	A	A	A	PASS	A
	T2	PASS	PASS	PASS	A	A
<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	T2	Part	PASS	PASS	A	A
<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	T2	PASS	PASS	PASS	A	A
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	T1	A	A	Part? (?Ag-nim)	PASS	A
	T2	Part	PASS	PASS	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (neg)	T1	A	A	Part	PASS	A
	T2	PASS	PASS Y4 SP in *Ag Pass	PASS	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (pos)	T1	A	A	A	Part	A
	T2	PASS	PASS Y4 SP	PASS	A	A
<i>Nusumu</i> /toru (to steal)	T1	PASS	PASS	A + <i>tes</i>	Verb + Part pattern (*Poss-wa P-ni Ag-o)	A (*P-wa Ag-de)
	T2	PASS Y4 SS	PASS Y4 RP & Y4 SS	PASS Y4 RP, Y4 SP & Y4SS	A or verb	A
<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	T1	Verb (*Poss-ni)	PASS	A + <i>tes</i>	PASS	A (*Poss-ni)
	T2	Verb ?DP	PASS	PASS	Part? (*)P-o-no Ag-ni)	A (*Poss-ni P(-de: unclear) → *Poss-ga P-de)
Category (see below)		1	1	1	4	6

		ExGu(E)6	ExE(Fr)7 T2: MT & MM	ExE8 T1: MT T2: MT	ExE9 ⁱⁱ T1: MM of <i>tes</i> T2: MT	ExE10 T1: MM of <i>tes</i> T2: Possibly MT (see below)
<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold/ tell off)	T1	Verb	A	PASS	A	PASS
	T2	A	A + <i>tes</i>	Verb	PASS Y4 SP	A
<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	T2	A	PASS	A	PASS	A
<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	T2	A Temp verb	PASS	Verb	PASS	A
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	T1	Verb	A	A	Invalid A	A
	T2	A	PASS	A	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to say/tell) (neg)	T1	A	A	A	Invalid A	A
	T2	A	A	A	A	A
<i>Iu</i> (to) say/tell) (pos)	T1	A	A	A	Invalid A	A
	T2	A	<i>Kara</i> passive part? (Ag- <i>kara</i>)	A	A	A
<i>Nusumu</i> <i>/toru</i> (to steal)	T1	A (*P- <i>wa</i> Ag- <i>de</i>)	A	PASS	A (*P- <i>o</i> Ag- <i>de</i>)	PASS
	T2	A	PASS Y4 RP & Y4 SS	Verb	A Possibly Y4 RP (P Pass)	A
<i>Humu</i> (to step on)	T1	Verb (*Poss- <i>ni</i> P- <i>do</i> ?)	A (*Ag Poss- <i>wa</i>)	Verb	A	PASS
	T2	A	PASS	Verb	PASS	A
Category (see below)		5	3	4	2	5

Notes:

- ExC2 overused passives in T2 and produced them in all the items except for *naku* (to cry) (dropped item), including the distractors.
- ExE9's data from T1 for *warau* and *iu* (neg & pos) were invalidated due to provision of information that may have affected his/her performance (see note ii below Table 4-1 in Chapter 5, Section 4-2-1).

The learners can be categorised as follows in terms of the patterns of change in their performance between Posttest 1 and Posttest 2. The type of metalinguistic knowledge displayed, where available, will also be added. The Year 4 data will be discussed later.

Table 3. Categories of learners

Category 1: At least some improvement in Posttest 1 and further improvement in Posttest 2 [Effects of instruction in Posttest 1 and retention of or improvement in the ability to produce <i>ni</i> passives in Posttest 2]		
	T1	T2
ExC2	MT	
ExC(E)3	MM applied to <i>tes</i> (regrettably)	MT
ExC1		
ConE5	MT & MM	MT & MM, MM for <i>tes</i>
Category 2: Possible intermediate form(s) in Posttest 1 and improvement in Posttest 2. [Possible effects of instruction]		
	T1	T2
ExE9	MM regarding <i>tes</i> ⁱ (regrettably)	MT
Category 3: No clear improvement in Posttest 1 and improvement in Posttest 2 [Delayed production of <i>ni</i> passives in Posttest 2, accompanied by metalinguistic knowledge (see Section 5)]		
	T1	T2
ExE(Fr)7		MT & MM
ConC/E1		M*T (passive referred to as potential) & MM of Pass + <i>tes</i>
Category 4: At least some improvement in Posttest 1 and decline in the ability to produce <i>ni</i> passives in Posttest 2 [Short-term effects of instruction or loss of accuracy in Posttest 2]		
	T1	T2
ExE8	MT	MT
ConGer(E)4	MM	MT & MM
ConE6	MG ⁱⁱ	
ExE4	MT	
Category 5: At least some improvement in Posttest 1 and loss of this ability in Posttest 2 [Short-term effects of instruction]		
	T1	T2
ExE10	MM regarding <i>tes</i>	Possibly MT (see below)
ExGu/E6		
ConC/E2		
Category 6: Possible intermediate forms in Posttest 1 and Posttest 2 [Slow progress without leading to the production of <i>ni</i> passives in both tests]		
	T1	T2
ExE5	MT	
Category 7: No use of passives in either test [No evidence of effects of instruction]		
	T1	T2
ConE3		
ConE7		

i. This was expressed during the item to test the use of *wareru/waru* (to break: Vi/Vt): speaking to a close friend (dropped item)

ii. ConE6 made a comment on the subtlety of the Japanese language.

The results show that for some of the learners in the Experimental group in Category 1 (ExC2, ExC(E)3 and ExC1) the instruction seems to have resulted in some success in the production of *ni* passives in Posttest 1 (confirming Hypothesis 6a), and their abilities were improved in Posttest 2, possibly as a result of exposure to the TL in Japan (confirming Hypothesis 6d). Of these learners, ExC2 (Posttest 1) and ExC(E)3 (Posttest 2) displayed metalinguistic knowledge of the term (and possibly the notion of the) 'passive' (see Section 5)¹³. They commented at the end of

¹³ Knowledge of the term 'passive' may imply that the learners had knowledge of some semantic notion of the passive, rather than that of the term 'passive' itself. That is, they used the passive because they knew that the use of this form for the situations had some semantic consequences. However, whether this means that they knew the

the experiment that there was no passive in Chinese, or it was hardly used. Although this statement is not true, this probably means that they knew that they had been using passives in Japanese during the experiment. An abrupt mention of the term 'passive' would have otherwise been strange. ExC(E)3 also commented on the necessity of linguistically encoding whether you are affected by the event (see Section 4-4). ConE5 in the Control group showed some improvement in Posttest 1 (passive particles and A + *te simau* (regrettably) with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and temporary appearance of the passive verb with *warau* (to laugh)), and used passive verbs extensively, both in DPs and PPs, in Posttest 2. This learner also had metalinguistic knowledge of both the term 'passive' and the meanings of *ni* passives in both tests, as well as the metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning and function of *te simau* in Posttest 2. Specifically, ConE5 asked after Posttest 1 if any of the test situations should have been described in the passive. This indicates that s/he noticed the link between some of the situations with the passive forms after the completion of the task, although s/he did not identify these situations. Also, whilst working on the item to test the use of *warau*, s/he mentioned that s/he was trying to use the passive, exhibiting metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' (see Section 5). S/he also stated that the use of the passive indicates that you're like an innocent bystander and a victim. After Posttest 2, this learner stated that it is easier in Japanese to express regret because of the availability of *te simai-masi-ta* (regrettably-Polite-Past). ConE5 also stated that *tor-are-tyat-ta* (steal-Pass-regrettably-Past), possibly treated as a chunk, means regret and annoyance. Since this learner had stated that *te simau* meant 'regret' earlier, it can be inferred that the passive was used to encode annoyance. However, ComE5 also said that s/he would use '*te simaimasita* or *tyatta* or something' when asked how to express annoyance in Japanese. Although this comment may suggest that s/he had a link between the meaning of annoyance and *te simau/tyau*, rather than the passive, I shall regard the latter link as a possibility. She also exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' when asked about the meaning of *toraretyatta*, and

'affectivity' meaning of the *ni* passive and its function of presenting the situation subjectively as a personal experience remains unclear, given the lack of comments from these learners. In other words, the issue of how far a mention of the term 'passive' is a manifestation of some degree of having the concept remains speculative. Therefore, I shall simply refer to metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive', without commitment to a particular interpretation regarding the precise nature of this knowledge. See Section 5 for a discussion of the roles of metalinguistic knowledge.

also referred to **war-are-ta* (*laugh-Pass-Past) (which appeared in the item to test the use of *warau* (to laugh)) as the passive. ConE5's performance indicates that the adversity meaning introduced in instruction was utilised in the tests (confirming Hypothesis 6a). Since this meaning was associated with PPs and Vi passives in instruction, however, this means that this learner applied it (temporarily) to the DP with *warau* in Posttest 1. In Posttest 2, s/he seems to have applied, or at least tried to apply, his/her metalinguistic knowledge to both DPs and PPs. I shall return to this issue in Section 5.

ExE9 (Category 2) did not use *ni* passive verbs or particles in Posttest 1, but produced P-*o* (Acc) Ag-*de* (by/due to) in the active with *nusumu/toru* (to steal), which can be regarded as a possible intermediate form in the process of learning to produce the PP (at least with this verb) (Hypothesis 4a) for the reason I mentioned in Section 2-3. In Posttest 2, s/he successfully produced DPs with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *tataku* (to hit) and *homeru* (to praise), and the PP with *humu* (to step on), and displayed metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive', and thus was conscious of the forms s/he was using¹⁴. I shall return to this learner's performance in Year 4 below.

Interestingly, ExE(Fr)7 and ConC/E1¹⁵ showed delayed but significant improvement in Posttest 2 (Category 3). What is notable about these learners is that they both exhibited metalinguistic knowledge that was similar to the information provided in the instructional treatment, and this seems to support the claim regarding the usefulness of such knowledge (Hypothesis 6a). In a struggle to produce the form *waraw-are-masi-ta* (laugh-Pass-Polite-Past), ExE(Fr)7 explicitly mentioned the term 'passive' as the form s/he was trying to use. When asked why s/he wanted to do this later on, s/he stated '*Ano tabun* "receive" to "effect" (Well, probably "receive" and "effect")', meaning that s/he was trying to encode these meanings by the use of the passive. ConC/E1 referred to *hum-are-te simai-masi-ta* (step on-Pass-regrettably-Polite-Past), in which the form Pass + *te simau* may have been treated as a chunk, as the potential form + *te simaimasita*, and stated that it meant that you're not happy about what happened. S/he made a similar comment about the

¹⁴ Whilst working on *tataku*, this learner asked 'Am I saying these right? I [pronounced as [i]] in the passive?' What s/he meant by 'these' is not entirely clear, but presumably includes the items before and adjacent to *tataku* (i.e., *homeru*, distractor and dropped items), at least.

¹⁵ As mentioned in note i below Table 1 above, some of the particles used by this learner in Posttest 1 are unclear.

same form with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off). ExE(Fr)7 additionally utilised his/her metalinguistic knowledge regarding his/her L2 French and stated at the end of the experiment that the French (dative) structure 'On m'a volé... (Literally: Someone to me stole...)' was the equivalent of the Japanese passive in that they both have victim and affective meanings (see Section 4-3 for more details of this phenomenon) (confirming Hypothesis 6b). What seems to have happened to both of these learners is that, although the meanings and function of *ni* passives were explained to them in the grammar lesson, they only utilised, took in, or integrated this knowledge after having had contact with the TL community in Japan, or learned it anew in Japan. That is, for these learners, exposure may have worked as a trigger for the learning or use of *ni* passives (+ *te simau* for ConC/E1), which confirms Hypothesis 6d.

Turning to the learners who exhibited at least some improvement in producing *ni* passives in Posttest 1, and some decline in their ability in Posttest 2 (Category 4), ExE8 can be said to have been more successful than others in this category in that the decline did not go beyond loss of accuracy in the use of the particles, resulting in the use of Ag-*ga* (Nom) P-*o* (Acc) in combination with passive verbs. In Posttest 1, s/he used the appropriate *ni* passive with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and *nusumu/toru* (to steal), and the passive verb with *humu* (to step on), and in Posttest 2, s/he used the passive verbs with *sikaru*, *homeru* (to praise), *nusumu/toru*, and *humu*, and thus continued to attempt to use passives. This learner had stateable¹⁶ metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' in both tests (expressed during the item to test the use of *yomu* (to read): speaking to mother (dropped item) in Posttest 1), and therefore knew that the forms that should be used for the given situations were passives. However, this knowledge was only partially applied to passive verbal forms, and not to particles in Posttest 2 (see Section 2-2). ConGer(E)4 in the Control group also achieved some success in Posttest 1, but his/her ability somewhat declined in Posttest 2. In Posttest 1, s/he was the only learner in the Control group who produced the appropriate *ni* passives (with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and *yomu* (to read): speaking to a close friend (dropped item)), and the passive verb with *humu*

¹⁶ The term 'stateable metalinguistic knowledge' reflects a particular operationalisation of declarative knowledge, which is what the learners in the present study were able to state, based on various specific resources, including input provided in the instructional treatment, hypotheses the learners formed on the basis of such input as well as natural input, their knowledge of L1/L2 and so on. This term distinguishes between metalinguistic knowledge evidenced in the data and that whose existence is only a possibility, given the lack of data indicating this.

(to step on). S/he also attempted to produce the appropriate PP with *nusumu/toru* (to steal). Again, this learner displayed stateable metalinguistic knowledge of the annoyance meaning of *ni* passives during the item to test the use of *yomu*: speaking to a close friend (dropped item)¹⁷. Given that the adversity meaning of PPs was what this learner had been taught in the grammar class, the production and attempted production of these passives can be attributed to the effects of instruction (Hypothesis 6a), and the use of the DP with *sikaru* may mean that s/he had created his/her own hypothesis about the applicability of the adversity meaning to this type of passive. In Posttest 2, s/he exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of both the term 'passive' and the irritation/negative meanings of these forms. However, it seems that s/he was confused about how to apply this knowledge to the relevant situations in Posttest 2. S/he stated after the experiment that the Japanese passive was difficult and s/he did not know how to use it. When the interviewer asked if s/he had used passives in the experiment, s/he said that s/he could not use them although s/he wanted to. Strikingly, this learner was observed to attempt to apply the negative meaning of the *ni* passive to a positive situation. When we came back to the distractor item *kasu* (to lend), for which s/he had initially opted for the benefactive

- (11) *Ag-kara P-o kasi-te morai-masi-ta*
 Ag-from P-Acc lend-Ben: receive a favour-Polite-Past
 (I received a favour of the Ag lending me the P),

s/he changed his/her mind and used the DP, ?P-*wa* (Top) *Ag-kara* (from) Pass. Just after this, s/he mentioned that in Japanese the passive has a negative meaning and expressed doubt about the appropriateness of the use of this form for the situation in which a friend did him/her a favour of lending his watch. However, s/he did not use passives for other 'affective' situations such as *nusumu/toru* (to steal), *tataku* (to hit) and *warau* (to laugh). It seems that this learner was in the process of learning to apply his/her metalinguistic knowledge to relevant situations. At this stage, s/he was unable to apply it to most of the target items. This explains the limited success of this learner in Posttest 2. ConE6 showed some signs of using *ni* passives in Posttest

¹⁷ Although the test of the verb *yomu* followed that of *sikaru*, and ConGer(E)4 only stated the meaning of the passive form *yom-are-masi-ta* (read-Pass-Polite-Past) after producing the *ni* passive with *sikaru*, it may be the case that this knowledge was used in producing the latter as well, although there is no evidence for this claim in that its meaning was not stated explicitly at that point.

1 (passive verbs with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and passive particles with *nusumu/toru*), and produced the passive verb with *homeru* (to praise) in Posttest 2. However, s/he stated later that the intended form was the active *home-ta* (praise-Past). This indicates a decline in his/her ability in that s/he was less confident with the use of the passive verb in Posttest 2. This learner showed no evidence of metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' or the meanings of *ni* passives, although s/he commented after Posttest 1, 'Japanese is just more subtle' (than English). This was followed by the comment 'they say things differently to different people and English isn't so much [*sic*]', indicating that the first comment may have been intended to mean the change of expressions in consideration of the addressee. Although it is also possible that this learner was assisted in becoming more sensitive and careful in selecting verbal forms by his/her consideration of the subtle meanings that the Japanese language can encode, the vague nature of this comment makes it difficult to infer the specific contribution this knowledge may have made to ConE6's performance. It should also be noted that this learner's overall use of passives was very limited. ExE4 was the learner who was clearly most successful in Posttest 1, and showed a large decline in his/her ability to produce *ni* passives in Posttest 2. S/he exhibited knowledge of the term 'passive'¹⁸ during the item testing the use of *wareru/waru* (to break: Vi/Vt): speaking to the offender's wife) (dropped item) in Posttest 1. For this learner, whose general proficiency level was low, the effects of instruction that were clearly evident at the time of Posttest 1 were short-lived, as was the case also with the learners in Kajikawa's (2002) study, in which those learners who were not psycholinguistically ready to acquire passives could only produce them three days after the instructional treatment, and not eight weeks later (see Chapter 3, Section 2-1)¹⁹.

As for the learners in Category 5, ExE10 achieved some success in Posttest 1, with successful use of *ni* passives with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on), and used actives across the items in Posttest 2. Again, this learner's performance indicates short-term effects of instruction (confirming Hypothesis 6a for Posttest 1, and disconfirming Hypothesis 6d). However, unlike

¹⁸ However, ExE4 was confused about passive and causative forms, and often used causative verbs. What is important is that this learner referred to the causative form as the passive.

¹⁹ However, as no data were collected between Posttest 1 and Posttest 2, it is not clear how long ExE4 retained the ability to produce or attempt to produce *ni* passives, or how and why such ability was lost.

ExE4, the proficiency level of this learner was high at the time of both tests. I shall discuss the issue of proficiency in Chapter 7. What is notable is that ExE10 exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning of *te simau* (regrettably) and related this form to the accidental nature of the event in the use of *wareru/waru* (to break: Vi/Vt): speaking to the offender's wife) (dropped item) in Posttest 1. This learner also exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' in the use of *yomu* (to read): speaking to a close friend (dropped item) in Posttest 2. However, the form used was the DP

- (12) *Watasi-no tegami-ga imooto-ni yom-are-ta*
 my letter-Nom younger sister-by read-Pass-Past
 (My letter was read by my sister),

which s/he translated as 'It was read' by my sister'. This is different from the use of the *ni* passive for a description of the speaker as the 'affected' participant of the event, which is the main concern of the present study. ExGu/E6 also showed some signs of using *ni* passives in Posttest 1 in that s/he used the passive verbs with *sikaru*, *warau* (to laugh) and *humu*. However, this ability seems to have been lost by the time Posttest 2 was conducted (except for a temporary appearance of a passive-like verb with *homeru* (to praise)). ConC/E2 had limited ability to produce *ni* passives in Posttest 1, with only one use of the passive case particles for *nusumu/toru*. In Posttest 2, however, no use of passive verbs or particles was observed, although this learner temporarily produced the passive verb with *humu*, which s/he briefly changed to A? + *te simau*, before reverting to the active without *te simau*. What is interesting about ExGu/E6 and ConC/E2 is that neither had stateable metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' or the meanings of passives. This may explain the decline of their ability to produce *ni* passives. I shall discuss this point in detail in Section 5.

With regard to ExE5 in Category 6, who produced 'separate possessor' with *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 1, and 'separate possessor' and patient with the same verb in Posttest 2 (cf. Hypothesis 4a), it can be said that the progress, if any, was very slow, in that neither *ni* passive verbs nor particles were produced even in Posttest 2. It should be noted that this learner exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' in Posttest 1 (in the use of *wareru/waru* (to break: Vi/Vt): speaking to the

offender's wife (dropped item)), but no evidence of the metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives in either test, although it cannot be assumed that the lack of storable metalinguistic knowledge is direct evidence of the absence of this knowledge.

Two learners in the Control group, ConE3 and ConE7, showed no improvement in either test (Category 7). ConE 3 had low general proficiency whereas ConE7's proficiency level was high (see Chapter 7 for the issue of general proficiency). Notably, neither displayed evidence of any metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' or the meanings of *ni* passives in either test.

Turning to the Year 4 data presented in Chapter 5, Section 5-2, it is very interesting that all the learners in the Experimental group who produced appropriate *ni* passives with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in Posttest 2 were observed to use them in the Year 4 role play (ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7 and ExE9), one of the speeches (ExC(E)3) and spontaneous speech (ExC1, ExC2, ExC(E)3, ExE(Fr)7), although the natural omission of the particle on the patient (ExE9 in the role play and ExC(E)3 in the spontaneous speech) makes it difficult to rule out the possibility that the intended forms were DPs. However, the use of the DP for a description of a theft in an unattended room (Posttest 2), which is similar to the situation used for the role play, as well as the omission of the particle on the patient, were observed in the utterances of some of the NSs in the present study (see Chapter 5, Section 3), and therefore can be regarded as appropriate. The important fact remains that these learners did not opt for the actives. As for ExE9, who produced *P-*o* (Acc) Ag-*de* (by/duo to) A in Posttest 1, and the active in Posttest 2, the possible production of the PP with *nusumu/toru* is particularly interesting, since the form that appeared in Posttest 1 is one that I claimed to be a possible intermediate form in the course of learning to produce the PP (at least with this verb) (Hypothesis 4a). If so, the appearance of this intermediate form may be a result of an effect of instruction (Hypotheses 3a & 6a), as I argued in Section 2-3 above. The only learner in the Control group who produced the PP with *humu* (to step on) and the DP with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) successfully in Posttest 2 (ConC/E1) produced the P-*wa* (Top) Ag-*ni* (by) Pass form with *nusumu/toru*, which may have been intended as the DP. No data are available, however, for his/her spontaneous speech in the use of this verb, and *humu* and *sikaru*.

With regard to the other verbs, ExC2 used the *ni* passive with *iu* (to say/tell) (positive) appropriately as in Posttest 2, and in the ungrammatical form *Ag Pass with *iu* (negative) in the two speeches, which means that s/he continued to (attempt to) use *iw-are-ru* (say/tell-Pass-Nonpast). ExE9 used the DP with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) appropriately in the speech on 'Something I do not like', as in Posttest 2.

The use of *ni* passives in the fourth year can be regarded as evidence of some successful retention of the use of *ni* passives by these learners. Therefore, such retention is possible (Research Question 5) even after the learners have returned to a JFL environment, contrary to the findings (on the basis of a small number of learners) of Tanaka's (1996) study.

Having examined the change in each learner's performance in the experiments, let us now turn to the issue of the factors that may have affected learning of *ni* passives, or the answers to Research Question 6.

4. Factors affecting learning of *ni* passives

From the results of the data that I have presented and discussed in detail above, the following can be regarded as some of the factors that may have affected learning of *ni* passives.

4-1. Instruction

The main purpose of this study is to examine the effects of providing two different kinds of metalinguistic knowledge regarding *ni* passives, that is, the notion of 'affectivity' for all instances of *ni* passives to the Experimental group, and the adversity meaning of the PP and Vi passive, and the shift of viewpoint of the DP, to the Control group. From the results obtained from the experiments, it can be said that the provision of such metalinguistic knowledge was helpful at least for some of the learners in both groups (Hypothesis 6a). The fact that the Experimental group performed better overall in Posttest 1 confirms the advantage of teaching *ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity' (Hypotheses 3a & 3b). A small number of the learners in the Control group also attempted to produce passives. Among these learners, those who evidenced declarative knowledge consistent with the information provided in instruction achieved some success in Posttest 1, and particularly in Posttest 2. This

again confirms the possible usefulness of providing this knowledge in instruction (Hypothesis 6a). However, their levels of success were limited, possibly because teaching PPs and Vi passives in terms of 'adversity', rather than treating all instances of *ni* passives as encoding the 'affectivity' meaning, had limited scope of application in the tests. I shall return to this issue shortly.

The retention of the use of passives in Posttest 2 (Research Question 5) was observed to be possible for some of the learners. However, their success cannot be directly attributed to the effects of instruction. As pointed out in Chapter 4, Section 3-3, Posttest 2 took place as long as approximately nine months after the input session, and the effects of instruction may not have lasted for such a long time for some of the learners (e.g., ExE4 and ExE10). Also, it is difficult to see how much of the performance of the learners in Posttest 2 can be attributed to the effects of instruction provided in the UK and how much to the exposure to the TL and the instruction at the Japanese university. On the other hand, the differentiation made in the instructional treatment between the two groups (i.e., 'affectivity' vs. adversity) was reflected in the results of this test, in which similar tendencies as in Posttest 1 were obtained. More specifically, the learners in the Experimental group outperformed the Control group, and those learners who had metalinguistic knowledge displayed signs of improvement in both groups. This indirectly points to effects of instruction.

The better overall performance of the learners in the Experimental group proves the advantage of the notion of 'affectivity' as opposed to adversity for PPs and Vi passives and semantic neutrality for DPs (Hypotheses 3a & 3b). This is strongly reflected in the successful production by some of the learners in the Experimental group of *ni* passives in positive situations with *home-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast) and *iw-are-ru* (say/tell-Pass-Nonpast) (positive), and in the limited success of the learners in the Control group in the use of the former verb (see, however, footnote 38 in Section 5) and the lack of appearance of passives with the latter. I shall explain the possible reason for this in Section 5.

4-2. Awareness at the level of understanding and metalinguistic knowledge

The observations made above indicate that the knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, or 'awareness at the level of understanding' (Schmidt e.g.,

1990, 1995; see Chapter 1, Section 2) assisted learning²⁰. This was shown to be the case for the learners in both the Experimental and Control groups. Those in the former group who stated the affective meaning of *ni* passives displayed at least some success and those in the latter who mentioned the adversative meanings of these passives also performed better than those without such knowledge. It seems that processing of *ni* passives as meaningful grammatical forms (VanPatten 2004a) or the semantic impact of these passives (Tanaka 1999c) assisted learning (see Chapter 3, Section 4-2). Since the Experimental group performed better, it can be said that Hypotheses 3a & 3b have been supported. There were individual differences in when the knowledge of *ni* passives was taken in, integrated into their linguistic systems or utilised in production, as we have seen in the learners in Category 3 in Section 3. However, the presence of this knowledge was accompanied by signs of success in producing *ni* passives. I shall discuss the differences between the two groups of learners in relation to the nature of metalinguistic knowledge in Section 5).

Crucially, the effects of metalinguistic knowledge are reflected in the performance of the learners summarised in Categories 1 to 7 in Section 3. The presence of metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' (see Section 5) and/or the meaning(s) of *ni* passives is generally accompanied by improvement in the two tests. Where learners exhibited the latter type of metalinguistic knowledge, they showed at least some success (with an exception of ComGer(E)4 in Posttest 2 (see Section 3)). Metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' certainly seems to have been useful, but this is not always accompanied by improvement (e.g., ExE8 in Category 4 in Posttest 2; ExE5 in Category 6 in Posttest 1; and possibly ExE10 in Category 5 in Posttest 2). The lack of either type of metalinguistic knowledge generally correlates with lack of success (Category 3, Posttest 1; ExGu/E6 and ConC/E2 in Category 5 in both tests; and ConE3 and ConE7 in Category 7). Although it is not clear if those learners who did not express metalinguistic knowledge actually had this knowledge but simply did not or could not state it, or had implicit knowledge²¹, the above

²⁰ In this study, 'awareness at the level of understanding' manifested in stateable metalinguistic knowledge was found to be useful. However, as I stated in Introduction, the issue of whether learning without explicit grammar explanation (such as via Focus on Form or Focus on Meaning) also assists learning was not examined. This needs to be investigated further.

²¹ Even if this is the case, it does not affect the argument that explicitly stateable metalinguistic knowledge assisted learning. This is not to say that one cannot learn *ni* passives without metalinguistic knowledge. This

mentioned phenomenon is interesting and suggestive of the facilitative role of metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' (or the associations between situations and forms) and the meanings of *ni* passives.

4-3. Knowledge of L1 and/or L2

Learners' L1s were not controlled in the present study, and no notable difference is evident in the use of *ni* passives by the learners with different L1s, with Chinese speakers performing somewhat better in the appropriate use of *ni* passives in Posttest 2. However, it is worth noting any possible evidence that learners exhibit of utilising their knowledge of L1s or L2s²². Indeed these languages seem to have had various effects on the learning of *ni* passives in this study. ExE(Fr)7, whose L2 is French, utilised his/her metalinguistic knowledge about the negative and victim meanings of the French dative construction²³ and equated this with the Japanese PP. More specifically, ExE(Fr)7 mentioned, when asked about the differences between Japanese, English and French in the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) at the end of the experiment, that the French version 'On m'a volé mon portefeuille (Literally: Someone to me stole my purse)' had an 'affective' or 'victim' meaning, or it sounded like the speaker was a 'victim' of the incident. ExE(Fr)7 said that the English version 'My watch has been stolen'²⁴ was more or less neutral. For Japanese, ExE(Fr)7 stated, regarding the form used to express the victim meaning, '*Nihongo* [Japanese] is passive, probably, I think, it sounds [a bit] **affective**'. When asked whether French and Japanese were similar, ExE(Fr)7 said that the French 'm'a volé (to me stole)' was the equivalent of the Japanese passive. When asked about this comment towards the end of the final year (about thirteen months after it was made), ExE(Fr)7 confirmed the existence of a victim meaning in the above French dative construction although s/he said that it was not as strong as in Japanese. This means that ExE(Fr)7 retained the metalinguistic knowledge that *ni* passives have a

issue needs to be examined in further studies, as mentioned above.

²² This will also be true of any other language(s) learners know. However, only monolinguals and bilinguals were included in this study.

²³ See Section 6-2 for a description of the French dative that encodes the adversity meaning and thus is semantically similar to Japanese PPs.

²⁴ ExE(Fr)7 mentioned this DP form when reflecting on his/her performance during the experiment. The form s/he had used when actually performing the test in English was the active 'A thief stole my watch'. This reflects the possibly arbitrary nature of the choice between the DP and the active in English to describe this situation, at least for this learner.

(negative²⁵) affective meaning for a prolonged period of time. Crucially, ExE(Fr)7 continued to use *musum-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) in the Year 4 role play, and importantly produced it in spontaneous speech. It is possible that this metalinguistic knowledge assisted him/her in retaining the use of *musumareru* for an extended period of time. ExE(Fr)7's performance confirms Hypothesis 6b (see below for the issue of retention). ConGer(E)4 also said later on in reflecting on how s/he had learned Japanese passives that it was possible that the availability of the German dative construction with a negative meaning (such as 'eine person trat mir auf meine hand (Literally: a person stepped to me on my hand)') may have assisted learning although s/he was not quite aware of this when s/he was performing the tasks. Comments made long after learning cannot be regarded as reliable, but possible usefulness of the knowledge of the German dative construction is suggestive and therefore should be examined in further studies. For ExE(Fr)7 and possibly ConGer(E)4, the availability of constructions in their L1/L2 that have a similar meaning or function to Japanese *ni* passives seems to have assisted learning. This expands on Tanaka's (2000, p. 237, 2004, 2005a) observation that L1s with a construction similar to the Japanese PP (such as Korean) can assist learning, in that it is not just constructional similarity, but semantic similarity of different constructions that can assist learning. This may be because the knowledge of L1 or L2 assisted these learners in comprehending input at a structural level through comparison of constructions of L1 or L2 and Japanese, which led to intake and subsequent integration (Gass 1988, 1997; see also Chapter 3, Section 3).

The knowledge of L1 or other languages does not always generate positive transfer. With ExC1 and ExC2, who are both NSs of Chinese, some negative transfer of their L1 occurred. ExC1 produced the DP for the PP with *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2, which is a possible and natural choice in Chinese²⁶. This learner did not show evidence of explicit knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, and it may be the case that s/he did not know that it was more appropriate to describe this situation as what had 'affected' the speaker. See Section 5 for a discussion of the

²⁵ Since the example used was a theft situation, ExE(Fr)7 used the term 'victim', which is one form of negative 'affectivity'. However, this learner referred to the meanings of *ni* passives as 'affective' and '[to] receive and [to have an] effect' in Posttest 2, as mentioned above. Notably, ExE(Fr)7 was also able to encode positive 'affectivity' in the use of *homeru* (to praise) in this test.

²⁶ ExC2, who is another NS of Chinese, also started his/her utterance with the mention of the patient and re-started to produce the PP with *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2. This may mean that initially s/he had the DP construction *P-wa* (Top) *Ag-ni* (by) Pass in mind.

roles of metalinguistic knowledge. ExC2 overused passives in the distractor items as well. The use of DPs for PPs by Chinese speakers was also observed in the earlier studies²⁷ including Tanaka (1996, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a), who also attributes this to the negative transfer of L1. Moreover, Tanaka (1999e) pointed out the tendency of these learners to overuse passives, which was potentially problematic in communication.

As for the NSs of English, many in the Control group exhibited reliance on the use of the actives (see also Tanaka 2005a), which seems to have been caused by negative transfer from their L1 (Mizutani 1985). However, unlike in Tanaka's (e.g., 2000, 2004, 2005a) findings, the appearance of, or fossilisation or stabilization at the stage of using the DP instead of PP was not observed in my experiments (see, however, Section 2-3), which confirms Hypothesis 4c.

Since the effects of L1 and other languages are not tested in this study, I must refer this issue to further studies in which learners' L1s (and other languages) are controlled. This was not possible in the present study due to the very small number of the subjects. However, what can be said from the results of this study is that knowledge of L1 or L2 may play a positive role, as it did for ExE(Fr)7 and possibly ConGer(E)4, if there are constructions or expressions that encode similar meanings as Japanese *ni* passives. Therefore, Tanaka's (e.g., 2000, 2004, 2005a) findings that L1 can assist learning of the Japanese PP if it has a similar construction should be modified to include conceptual (as well as constructional) similarity, such as the 'affective' French (and German) datives that are semantically similar to Japanese PPs²⁸. I shall discuss the possible connection between the French dative construction and the Japanese PP in cognitive terms in Section 6-2.

4-4. Motivation (general ability to encode feelings)

The results of the experiments show that knowing that *ni* passives encode the 'affectivity' meaning that actives do not (and thus these passives are nonredundant in the sense described in Chapter 3, Section 4-2) seems to have motivated the learners to utilise these forms in communication (see also Ogawa & Ando 1999). Also, the results from the use of *te simau* (regrettably) indicate that it is learners' general

²⁷ See Chapter 3, Sections 2-1 and 2-2.

²⁸ The same can be said about other Romance languages such as Italian and Spanish. However, these languages were not examined in the present study since there were no speakers of these languages in either group.

ability to encode their feelings/affective stance in their utterances that can play an important role in the learning of *ni* passives. If learners know that it is more appropriate to encode their affective stance via linguistic forms in their utterances in describing 'affective' situations, this can motivate them to use these forms (Hypothesis 6c).

The existence of such motivation is observable in one of the learners in the Experimental group (ExC(E)3), who stated as follows at the end of Posttest 1:

'You have to think about who you're actually speaking to, (whe)ther, **whether you're being affected by it.** [Then] there's tenses [forms?] and which one to use with it.'²⁹

This means that ExC(E)3 knew that in Japanese a certain form (or 'tense' in ExC(E)3's word) is used to express the information that 'you're being affected' by an event, or the notion of 'affectivity'. Moreover, this learner regarded this as something '[y]ou **have to** think about'. This is a crucial step towards the use of linguistic forms for the purpose of encoding one's affective stance including 'affectivity'. Although ExC(E)3 did not associate 'affectivity' with *ni* passives at this stage, but seemed to have used *te simau* (regrettably) to encode this meaning, simply realising the **necessity** to encode one's feelings via linguistic forms is important. It is also worth mentioning that the general proficiency of this learner was low at the time of Posttest 1 (see Chapter 7 for an elaboration on this point). Thus, motivation as observed in this learner can assist learning to use *ni* passives.

4-5. Exposure

Exposure to the TL in Japan provides learners with opportunities to hear and use *ni* passives. However, some of the learners (particularly in the Control group) continued to rely on actives in Posttest 2, possibly because they could only process the lexical meanings of the verbal stems and not the passive constructions. A few others displayed at least partial ability to produce *ni* passives (or produced possible intermediate forms) in Posttest 1, and showed little evidence of progress or even

²⁹ It is not entirely clear what 'it' in 'whether you're being affected by it' refers to. However, despite his/her poor overall performance (in terms of grammar as well as vocabulary and fluency), ExC(E)3 used *te simau* (regrettably) in situations that are likely to have made him/her feel bad, such as being involved in a theft, having someone step on his/her foot and forgetting to do his/her homework. This means that this learner considered the 'affective' nature of these events and selected certain linguistic forms (or 'tenses' in ExC(E)3's word), or the *te simau* forms. His/her comments explain this phenomenon.

backslided to the use of actives in Posttest 2. It seems that these learners' knowledge of *ni* passives had not been fully **activated** prior to the Period Abroad Programme and little improvement in the use of *ni* passives was made during their stay in Japan. This may be because these forms were unattended to at a time when the learners were presumably focused more on meaning, being engaged in communication in naturalistic environments, than on form, as they are likely to be in formal instruction. This means that much more noticing was necessary for the use of *ni* passive forms to stabilize.

It seems that the duration of exposure of up to six months was not enough for the acquisition of *ni* passives for the learners³⁰. This is particularly true of the learners in the Control group (confirming Hypothesis 1), but also includes some in the Experimental group (disconfirming Hypothesis 6d). Also, only a few learners in the Experimental group and none in the Control group could produce *iw-are-ru* (say/tell-Pass-Nonpast). This form, according to Heo (2005), Okutsu (1983) and Michiharu Tanaka (2005), is frequently used by NSs. Furthermore, many in the former group and most in the latter also found *waraw-are-ru* (laugh-Pass-Nonpast) difficult.

On the other hand, for the learners in Category 3 in Section 3, exposure seems to have helped to trigger the learning and use of *ni* passives by providing opportunities to hear and use them (Hypothesis 6d), in that they only showed improvement once they were in Japan. Unlike the learners who continued to use actives in Posttest 2, these learners had metalinguistic knowledge of *ni* passives (+ *te simau* (regrettably) for ConC/E1). It is possible that they had opportunities to check this knowledge against natural input and to try using these forms as a means of encoding the 'affectivity'/adversity meaning during the six months' stay in Japan. This may have worked in a positive way in learning. Knowing what *ni* passives can do in communication is also likely to have motivated these learners to make use of these forms (confirming Hypothesis 6c). Those learners who did not know this may not have felt the necessity to use *ni* passives, and for them exposure did not have much effect on learning. This means that knowledge of the function of *ni* passives and motivation to use or learn them prior to the departure for Japan may be helpful (or even necessary) for learning to produce these forms.

³⁰ In Tanaka (e.g., 1999a, 2000), even up to twelve months was found to be insufficient.

One question that needs to be asked in relation to the issue of exposure is how the interruption of an academic term, which ExE8, ExE10, ConE5, ConE6 and ConE7 had in Europe prior to their departure to Japan, may have affected their performance. The results of the Pretest as well as the extra exposure to the TL (i.e., previous stay in Japan and the attendance to the Japanese course at the university in Germany) (see Chapter 5, Section 4-1) provided justification for the inclusion of these learners in this study. Also, there is some evidence that they were not at lower levels of proficiency than others; in general, their proficiency levels remained high in their final year of study, compared to some of the learners who did not have an interruption in Europe³¹.

Although it cannot be denied that the interruption these learners had may have sometimes caused their abilities to decline (ExE8, ExE10 and ConE6), the categories shown above do not clearly separate these learners from those who did not have an interruption in Europe. As mentioned, it was the learners who had metalinguistic knowledge regarding passives who generally performed better than those without such knowledge. The possession of this knowledge may have played a more important role than the timing of the Period Abroad in Japan or the duration of exposure to the TL in Japan.

As we have just seen, one factor that the results of the experiments have shown to be important in learning *ni* passives is the possession of metalinguistic knowledge. Examination of learners' metalinguistic comments also explains qualitative differences between the two groups. I shall now turn to a discussion of how and why metalinguistic knowledge may have assisted learning, and discuss Hypotheses 5a & 5b.

5. The types and roles of metalinguistic knowledge in the production of *ni* passives

In the previous sections, I have suggested repeatedly the positive effects of metalinguistic knowledge. In the categories of the learners presented in Section 3, a general hierarchy of usefulness of two different types of metalinguistic knowledge was shown, with that of the meanings of *ni* passives (often accompanied by the knowledge of the term 'passive') being generally more effective than that of the

³¹ The details of the learners' marks cannot be provided here due to the confidential nature of this information.

term 'passive' alone, and lack of metalinguistic knowledge being associated with no use or signs of use of *ni* passives. In this section, I shall examine the roles of these two types of metalinguistic knowledge by explaining the reason why this knowledge may have assisted the learners, or why the lack of it did not lead to success in producing passives.

It has been argued that for some of the learners in the Experimental group (ExE(Fr)7 and possibly ExC(E)3³²), the metalinguistic knowledge that *ni* passives are used to encode the 'affectivity' meaning and that these forms are used for descriptions of a person who was 'affected' by an event, assisted learning of these forms. These learners produced *ni* passives successfully for all (ExC(E)3) or most (ExE(Fr)7) of the target items in Posttest 2. Also, for ExE(Fr)7, the metalinguistic knowledge of his/her L2 French seems to have played an important role in learning, as already pointed out. What is rather impressive about these two learners is the speed at which they learned to produce *ni* passives. They both used actives (with *te simau* (regrettably) for ExC(E)3 with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and *humu* (to step on)) in Posttest 1 and, compared to other learners, showed that it is quite a leap to reach the appropriate production of *ni* passives in all (ExC(E)3) or most (ExE(Fr)7) of the target items in Posttest 2. Crucially, they both retained the ability to produce *nusum-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) in a theft situation in the Year 4 test, and especially in spontaneous speech. Unlike other learners, they had gone beyond the stage of producing intermediate forms such as an active verb with passive particles or a passive verb with active particles at the time when Posttest 2 took place, although a reminiscence of the stage of learning to mark the agent as the topic (the 'First Noun Principle in Production') was observed in ExE(Fr)7 in the use of *tataku* (to hit), *warau* (to laugh) and *naku* (to cry) (dropped item) (see Section 6-1). For instance, neither produced forms such as *P-o (Acc) Ag-de (by/due to) A or *Ag-ga (Nom)/-wa (Top) P-o (Acc) Pass³³ in the use of *nusumu/toru* in Posttest 2. One factor that may explain the non-appearances of actives is that these learners were aware that they should use the passive (*te simau* for ExC(E)3 in Posttest 1) when describing an incident that has 'affected' them. That is, these learners had in their

³² As I have already noted, this learner seems to have associated the 'affectivity' meaning with *te simau* (regrettably) at first in Posttest 1.

³³ Obviously, one cannot rule out the possibility that these and other forms existed at some stage(s) if not captured by the two experiments conducted in this study.

explicit knowledge a direct link between the ‘affectivity’ meaning and passive forms (*te simau* for ExC(E)3 in Posttest 1, replaced by *ni* passives in Posttest 2). This provided them with a better chance of using the *ni* passive forms rather than the active ones. In other words, they had an advantage of having realised (explicitly) the existence of forms used to encode ‘affectivity’. For ExC(E)3, *te simau* was replaced by *ni* passives at some point and this learner could use the latter appropriately by the time Posttest 2 was conducted. As there was already an existing link between ‘affectivity’ and certain verbal forms (i.e., verbs in their *te simau* forms), replacement of one set of forms (*te simau*) with another (*ni* passives) may have been simpler than establishing such a link itself, which seems to be one of the problems with those learners who could not use *ni* passives at all.

Why then did they not use *Ag-ga/-wa P-o Pass forms such as

- (13) **Suri-ga/-wa* *saihu-o* *tor-are-masi-ta*
 pickpocket-Nom/-Top purse-Acc steal-Pass-Polite-Past

or the DP, P-ga/-wa Ag-ni Pass such as

- (14) *Saihu-ga/-wa* *suri-ni* *tor-are-masi-ta*
 purse-Nom/-Top pickpocket-by steal-Pass-Polite-Past
 (The purse was stolen by a pickpocket),

which were also observed by Tanaka (1996, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a)? One possible reason is that these learners conceptualised the incident of a theft, for instance, not only as ‘affective’ but also ‘affective’ **to the victim** (ExE(Fr)7) or **to the speaker** (ExC(E)3) (as reflected in their metalinguistic comments), and were aware of the appropriateness of describing the incident as something that had happened **to them** rather than to their purse (or what the pickpocket had done to them or their purse). If this is the case, the main character or the grammatical subject (or the topic) of the utterance would become the speaker, *watasi* (I), rather than the agent, *suri* (pickpocket), or the patient, *saihu* (purse). It is hypothesised that this helped them to avoid placing the agent or the patient in the subject position. I shall explain in more detail what should happen in cognitive terms in the appropriate production of DPs and PPs in Section 6-1 and Section 6-2 respectively. The speed at which these two learners progressed confirms the general role of (explicit)

form-focused instruction in providing a shortcut, pointed out in previous studies (e.g., Long 1988, 2000). It seems that knowing what *ni* passives can do was useful because such knowledge could motivate the learners to utilise these forms in communication (Hypothesis 6c).

As we have seen above, some of the other learners in the Experimental group (ExE4, ExE5 and ExE8 in Posttest 1, ExE8, ExE9 and ExE10 in Posttest 2, and possibly ExC2 in Posttest 1 and ExC(E)3 in Posttest 2) only mentioned the term 'passive' as the form they wanted to use or had used. In other words, they displayed metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive', which is different in nature from that of the meanings and function of *ni* passives³⁴. For instance, ExE8 said 'That's passive' when s/he looked at the picture for testing the use of *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in Posttest 2. This means that ExE8 had an association between the theft situation in the picture and the use of the passive, although s/he used the passive verb with incorrect particles. Although this may mean that ExE8 also knew the meaning/function of the passive, there is no clear data to indicate this.

It must be emphasised that my intention is not to say that one cannot produce passives without knowing that the form one is using is called the 'passive' or whatever label learners may chose to use for it³⁵. Those who mentioned the term 'passive' had a clear and explicit association between the situations, such as the ones they had seen with a *ni* passive in the input (lessons, textbooks etc), and the use of the passive forms as a result of paying attention to these forms. Although this may not have been mediated by the 'affectivity' meaning (see footnote 4), they were confident that passives were the appropriate forms to use. This is why they did not revert to actives. In other words, metalinguistic knowledge of which forms one should use (as well as of the meanings of *ni* passives) makes the use of passive verbs or passive constructions more robust and stable. It is also possible that the use of passives in the above cases was intentional in that they expressed what they were trying to do. Metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' indicates that what Gass (1997) called comprehension at the level of syntax rather than semantics (or structural analysis) must have occurred in input processing, which was useful for

³⁴ It is not clear, given the lack of further metalinguistic comments, whether these learners also knew the meanings and function of these passives. This remains a possibility.

³⁵ ConC/E1 referred to *hum-are-te sima-u* (step on-Pass-regrettably-Nonpast) and *sikar-are-te sima-u* (scold/tell off-Pass-regrettably-Nonpast) as the **potential form** + *te simau*. However, s/he still used these forms appropriately. It is unlikely that s/he was actually trying to encode potential meanings by these forms.

- 6 I: Nn? Nn.
 7 ConC/E2: ^H*Hu, huri* (R), *hu.* (1) *Nandakke?* L. ^H*Hum-are*^{H&HG}-*masi-ta?*
 (*step on) I wonder what it is. step on-Pass-Polite-Past
 8 *Ee tiga*^L*u.* ^{H&SL}*Huum-a* (1) ^{SH}*simai-masi-ta.*
 No, that's wrong *step on(-Pass?)-*regrettably-Polite-Past
 9 ConC/E2&I: L.
 10 ConC/E2: *Wakarimasen.*
 I don't know.
 11 I: [asks to do it again].
 12 ConC/E2: ^H*Hum-u* *huu* (7) ^{SH}*humi-masi-ta.*
 step on-Nonpast step on-Polite-Past
 13 I: [asks to do it again].
 14 ConC/E2: ^{SH}*Humi*^{SH&HG}-*masi*^{SH&HG&L}-*ta.* (1) *Aa.*
 step on-Polite-Past er
 15 I: [asks what ConC/E2 wants to do].
 16 ConC/E2: [?]*-wa* *humi-masi,* *aa tiga*
 [What I want to say is?] step on(-Polite) er that's wrong
 17 ^{SH}*hu*^{?&SH}*me/ma*^{SH&HG}-*masi-ta* (R)? *Iya tiga.* ^{SH}*Hu, hue-masi-ta* (R).
 *step on-Polite-Past No that's wrong *step on-Polite-Past
 18 *Hume* (SE), *humi* (SE&SR) (2) *nom-u* (1) *aa* *humi-masi*^L-*ta.*
 (*step-on) (step on(-Polite)) drink-Nonpast er step on-Polite-Past
 19 OK. L.
 20 I: [asks to do it again].
 21 ConC/E2: ^L*Sakki e sakki kooen-ni* *siremasenn-no hitoo-ga* (SE) *te-o* (SR) *ee* (1)
 earlier [in] a park [stranger]-Nom hand-Acc er
 22 ^{SH}*humi-masi-ta.*
 step on-Polite-Past

In this case, it is possible that the association between the situation and the passive verbal form was much weaker (or much more vague) than that displayed by ConE5 (see Excerpt (19) in Section 6-1) or ExE8, who were able to explicitly state that the passive should be used for the given situations. Strikingly, ConC/E2 had an opportunity to engage in metalinguistic reflection when asked what s/he was trying to do (line 15). Instead of doing this, s/he continues to struggle with the verbal form and produces a further string of verbs until s/he applies the rule for the formation of the active polite *masu* form for *nomu* (to drink) to *humi*, which follows the same pattern, and settles for the active *humimasita* (line 18). Unlike ConE5, who said that s/he was trying to use the passive when asked the same question (see Excerpt (19) in Section 6-1), no signs of metalinguistic reflection are evident in the excerpt. It is interesting that ConC(E)2 made little overall progress in the use of *ni* passives (with no appearances in any of the tables for Posttest 2 in Chapter 5, Sections 5-1-1 to 5-1-4), whereas ConE5 and ExE8 could produce *ni* passives or passive verbs in Posttest 1 and/or Posttest 2. The different paths followed by these learners suggest a

possible advantage of having clear and explicit associations between 'affective' situations and the use of passive forms, or a clear intention to use passives. This is reflected in the metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive', which shows evidence of analysis at the syntactic rather than semantic level. However, as mentioned above, the possibility that ConC/E2 had such metalinguistic knowledge cannot be ruled out.

Another example comes from ConE6, whose use of a passive verb was followed by a change of mind that occurred later on. As mentioned earlier, ConE6 used the passive verbal form *home-rare-masi-ta* (praise-Pass-Polite-Past) but later stated that the intended form was *home-ta* (praise-Past). What seems to have happened is that ConE6 knew vaguely or had a feeling that the passive verbal form was correct. In other words, this form came to his/her mind at the time when s/he produced *homeraremasita*. However, it seems that the use of this passive verb was not accompanied by a clear reason or motivation (sometimes reflected in metalinguistic knowledge) and it was subsequently changed to the active.

Thus, as far as the learners in the present study are concerned, it can be said that explicit associations between the use of *ni* passives and the relevant situations, or clear and explicit knowledge that the passive forms should be used for certain situations, seem to have assisted learning to produce *ni* passives. Such knowledge results from the comprehension at the structural level in input processing, a process that Gass (1997) argued to be useful in subsequent acquisition. The general success of the learners with metalinguistic knowledge and lack of success of those without such knowledge is an interesting phenomenon that should be investigated further.

A crucial phenomenon that seems to support the argument for the positive effects of metalinguistic knowledge is that in the Control group all of the learners who had (stateable) metalinguistic knowledge about the meanings of *ni* passives utilised it and achieved success or partial success in the production of these forms in both tests, and in particular, in Posttest 2. It is striking that all but one of the utterances that appear in the tables for Posttest 2 (Tables 5-1 to 5-4 in Chapter 5) were made by the three learners with metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives; the exception is ConE6 in the use of *home-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast), which was abandoned later on, as we have seen. Also, in both Posttest 1 and Posttest 2, the only learner in the Control group who produced the appropriate *ni* passive(s) (combined

with *te simau* (regrettably) in Posttest 2) had metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning of *ni* passives.

Although the use of *ni* passives by these learners in the Control group was mostly partial (i.e., verb only or particles only) and sometimes their lack of confidence in the correctness of the choice or use of the passive verbal forms lead them to avoid these forms, their intentions to produce passives are noteworthy. What is striking is the fact that all of the three learners in the Control group who demonstrated metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives seem to have applied the notion of negative 'affectivity' (i.e., adversity) to DPs, which were not taught as encoding this meaning in the grammar lesson. These learners created their own hypotheses about the applicability of this notion to DPs and produced them for the situations for which NSs produced DPs in the experiments, or they applied the notion of adversity to the situations that were presented as having made them feel bad regardless of whether they were PP or DP situations³⁶. Since these learners were not taught all *ni* passives (DP, PP or Vi passive) in a uniform manner, it is not surprising that it took longer for them to apply the notion of adversity to wider situations that included the DP situations. However, this notion also had limitations (see below).

The success or partial success of those learners with the metalinguistic knowledge that related passives to either the adversity or 'affectivity' meaning in the two groups observed above justifies the claim that such knowledge assists learning (Hypothesis 6a). It seems that what Tanaka (1999c, p. 157) called semantic impact in reference to VanPatten's (1996) input processing model affected their performance³⁷. That is, the meanings of *ni* passives had an impact on them in input processing because these grammatical forms were treated as meaningful, and they tried to encode these meanings in their output (production). Sometimes, the learners with this knowledge retained the ability to produce *ni* passives (or passive verbs with incorrect particles) over the long-term period (confirming Hypothesis 5a). The fact that the meanings of *ni* passives was explicitly stated by the learners indicates that the impact was strong.

³⁶ As I discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2-2, it is often argued that in the DP adversity meaning does not arise from the passive construction but from the lexical meaning of the verb. However, as I argued, the source of the adversity meaning (i.e., whether constructional or lexical) is not something beginners/intermediate learners can normally pinpoint. Here, I consider it notable that they produced or attempted to produce passives for the items for which NSs used *ni* passives.

³⁷ See Chapter 3, Section 4-2 for a discussion of how semantic impact may influence learning of *ni* passives.

Those learners who did not receive such impact may not have learned these forms (supporting Hypothesis 5b). Additionally, knowing that *ni* passives can be used for the purpose of encoding 'affectivity' (or, for the learners in the Control group, that PPs and Vi passives encode adversity) seems to have increased the learners' motivation for using these forms (Hypothesis 6c). Since this notion can be applied to various relevant situations, it can serve as a basis for generalising the use of *ni* passives to various verbs (or situations) (Hypothesis 3b). Indeed, a small number of the learners in the Experimental group used the Vi passive with correct particles (ExC(E)3) or with Ag-*wa* (Top) (ExE(Fr)7) with *naku* (to cry), which was dropped from analysis since the NSs showed a preference for the active. Explicit knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, as well as clear associations between situations and the use of passives (reflected in the metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' as explained above), also guide learners' decision in selecting the forms and this seems to have had positive effects by increasing confidence in those learners who produced passive forms without self-correcting them to actives. That is, if learners know why *ni* passives are used for certain situations, or if they have explicit and clear associations between certain situations and the use of passives, they will be able to justify the use of these forms and be less likely to revert to actives. This confidence can stabilise the use of *ni* passives. In this study, it was found that the learners who produced passive verbs temporarily displayed at least partial ability to produce *ni* passives later on, or in other items in the same test, if they had metalinguistic knowledge, which reflects semantic impact, and little or no ability if they did not. This again supports Hypotheses 5a & 5b.

As already pointed out, the nature of the metalinguistic knowledge differed between the two groups of learners. Whereas the learners in the Experimental group with metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives said that passives encode an affective meaning, all the learners with this kind of metalinguistic knowledge in the Control group (ConGer(E)4 and ConE5 in Posttest 1, and ConC/E1, ConGer(E)4 and ConE5 in Posttest 2) associated *ni* passives with the adversity or negative meanings, expressed in various terms such as 'annoyance, something negative and irritation' (ConGer(E)4), 'victim meaning, and regret and annoyance (for Pass + *tyau* (regrettably))' (ConE5) and 'not being happy (for Pass + *tyau*)' (ConC/E1). The difference in the nature of this metalinguistic knowledge that

the learners in the two groups displayed, that is, between ‘affectivity’ and adversity, resulted in different levels of success being achieved by these learners. The learners who associated *ni* passives with ‘affectivity’ performed better overall than those who related them to the ‘adversity’ meaning (Hypotheses 3a & 3b). As we have seen earlier, only the former group produced appropriate *ni* passives with positive meanings (with *homeru* (to praise)³⁸ and *iu* (to say/tell) (positive) (see Table 5-1 in Chapter 5, Section 5-1-1)). The lack of use of *ni* passives with positive meanings by the Control group was expected, as the notion of adversity can only be applied successfully to negative situations. These learners utilised only a part of the ‘affectivity’ meaning of *ni* passives, that is, negative ‘affectivity’, and this only worked well in negative situations in the experiments. Although the limited number of the subjects makes generalisation difficult, the results available in this study suggest faster and more accurate use of positive as well as negative passives by the learners in the Experimental group, and therefore the general benefit of teaching all types of *ni* passives in terms of ‘affectivity’ (Hypotheses 3a & 3b). It seems that capturing all instances of *ni* passives by the single notion of ‘affectivity’ resulted in efficiency in teaching and the general nature of ‘affectivity’ as opposed to ‘adversity’ meant applicability of this notion to positive as well as negative situations. Moreover, as Furukawa (2006) pointed out, some of the learners may not regard situations like having someone stand on their foot as **adverse** and may therefore not feel that they should use the PP, which is sometimes labelled as the ‘adversative passive’. Also, there are situations in which the nature of the influence of another’s action on the speaker (passive subject) is not clear. For instance, one may know that s/he has been ‘affected’ in some way when someone called him/her silly, but may not be sure if this influence is really a negative one, when this comment can be interpreted as a friendly joke, or a manifestation of positive politeness in Brown & Robinson’s (1978/1987) sense. The association of *ni* passives with the notion of ‘affectivity’ can still justify the use of these forms in such cases, whereas that of ‘adversity’ may not.

³⁸ One phenomenon that needs to be explained is the use or temporary use of the passive verb (with incorrect particles) with *homeru* (to praise) by the learners in the Control group. Three learners (ConE5, ConE6 and ConGer(E)4) produced *home-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast) (with ConGer(E)4 reverting to the active in the end) despite the fact that two of them (ConE5 and ConGer(E)4) associated *ni* passives with the adversity meaning. Given the lack of metalinguistic comments on the use of this form, it is not possible to tell what happened. However, it may be the case that they regarded *homerareru* as an exception, as they were taught in the grammar lesson. Indeed ConGer(E)4 looked puzzled when the interviewer mentioned his/her use of *homerareru* after s/he related passives to negative meanings.

Finally, the manner in which the learners utilised their metalinguistic knowledge should be described. It was in the course of producing their utterances that the learners were sometimes observed to reflect upon the forms, meanings and functions of *ni* passives³⁹. This is what Swain (e.g., 1995) called the metalinguistic function of output (see Chapter 1, Section 4). They were unsure of the form of their utterances and were forced to think what they were trying to do and/or why. The answer to the former question of what they were trying to do is reflected in the mention of the term 'passive'; the answer to the latter question of why they were trying to produce the passive form is reflected in the description of the meanings of the *ni* passive such as affected, annoyed and so on. It is likely that knowing why the *ni* passive should be used gives more confidence in the use of this form and this explains why metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives can be more useful than that of the term 'passive' (or having an association between a given situation and the use of the *ni* passive form). In either case, output triggered thinking about the form and sometimes the meaning of the learners' utterances and the metalinguistic knowledge they came up with seems to have assisted the production of the *ni* passive by providing a rationale for the selection of this form.

Having examined what may have contributed to learning of *ni* passives, and discussed Research Questions 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6, let us now turn to the issue of processes of learning these forms.

6. Processes of learning to produce *ni* passives

We have seen that in this study, metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives as well as of the term 'passive' (or a clear and explicit association between a given situation and the passive form) assisted learning to produce these forms. I have also explained why this may be the case. The next question is how this knowledge might have assisted the learners in the production of *ni* passives in cognitive terms. In other words, the possible cognitive processes of learning that took place in producing DPs and PPs in relation to metalinguistic knowledge must be clarified. Also, the relationship between what I have suggested as possible intermediate forms and the appropriate *ni* passive forms needs to be explained.

³⁹ It must be added that the reflection of the forms was much more common than that of the meanings and functions during the performance of the task. This may be because reflecting on the latter would be more obtrusive and distracting than that of the former.

However, it must be clearly stated that given the small number of the subjects, it is not the order of learning that I am proposing here. Further studies involving a larger number of learners are necessary. All I can say regarding the order of learning to produce *ni* passives from the available data in this study is that it cannot necessarily be claimed that learning of the use of passive verbs precedes that of passive particles (e.g., Tanaka 1999a) in PPs. We have seen cases in which a learner produced passive particles and no passive verbs in PP (ConC/E2 in Posttest 1), and the passive + *te simau* (regrettably) with two verbs (DP and PP), passive particles with three others (DPs) and no passive verbs alone (ConC/E1 in Posttest 2), although it is not clear if these learners actually had passive verbs in mind but resorted to an avoidance strategy due to their lack of knowledge of or confidence in the passive verbal forms. Also, the possible co-existence of the appropriate PP and Ag-*de* (in which *de* may have been used as 'by' instead of *ni*) followed by the active verb *toru* (to steal) observed in ExE10 (see Section 2-3) may be a counterexample to the argument that the production of passive verbs occurs first. In the next sections, I shall describe possible processes of learning to produce DPs, followed by that of PPs.

6-1. Direct Passives

In learning to produce DPs, some of the learners continued to rely on actives for a prolonged period of time. Some of the others produced passive verbs in combination with active particles, as we have seen⁴⁰. In this section, I shall attempt to explain what needs to happen for the production of DPs in cognitive terms. In so doing, some of the learners' utterances that I have claimed to be interesting in terms of the process of learning to produce *ni* passives will be explained.

In the production of the active transitive, the agent is treated as the trajector from which the transmission of energy originates. This energy reaches the patient, which is the landmark, causing change in its state in a canonical transitive construction. This change may not be evident or visible in cases like (16), as we have seen in Chapter 2, Section 3-2:

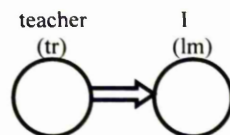
⁴⁰ Here, I shall concentrate on the use of passive verbs and not passive particles with active verbs. As I mentioned in Section 2-3, verbal reports from learners are necessary to examine the mental processes in producing the latter forms. I shall therefore refer this to further studies. One point to be noted is that for those who produced passive particles with an active verb, *Ag-*ni* (by) P-*ga* (Nom) A, the patient (I in Figure 1) is treated as the trajector and the agent (teacher in Figure 1) as the landmark. However, not changing the verbal form when this switch occurs leads to ungrammaticality.

- (16) *Sensei-ga watasi-o sikat-ta.*
 teacher-Nom I-Acc scold-Past
 (The teacher scolded me.)

The following is the cognitive model for this utterance:

Figure 1. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with *sikaru*)

Japanese: *Sensei-ga watasi-o sikat-ta.*
 teacher-Nom I-Acc scold-Past
 (The teacher scolded me.)
 English: The teacher scolded me.



Circle: entity
 Double arrow: transfer of energy
 tr: trajector
 lm: landmark

In order to produce the DP

- (17) *Watasi-wa sensei-ni sikar-are-ta*
 I-Top teacher-by scold-Pass-Past
 (I was scolded by the teacher and was negatively 'affected' by this)

the occurred event should be accessed via a reference point and as a whole (target).

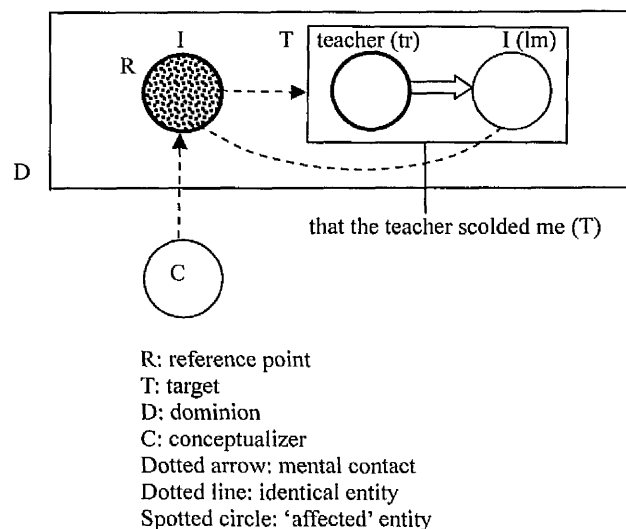
This reference point is also 'affected' by the occurred event.

Figure 2. Cognitive model of the DP (with *sikarareru*)

Watasi-wa sensei-ni sikar-are-ta.

I-Top teacher-by scold-Pass-Past

(I was scolded by the teacher and was negatively 'affected' by this.)



Thus, the difference between the active and the DP is that a description is made in the latter as something that the reference point had a mental contact with and was 'affected' by, and not as a transfer of energy from the agent (the teacher) to the patient (I), as in the former. However, as we shall see shortly, the event conceptualisation of the active with this energy transfer is a persistent characteristic of many learners. This also means that the First Noun Principle (VanPatten 2004a) is in operation.

To re-state the points I have made about successful or relatively successful learners in Section 5 in cognitive terms, two processes are needed for successful production of DPs (or *ni* passives in general), as follows:

Process No.1: Accessing the event via a reference point or as something that happened to him/her. This can encourage the *wa* (Top) or *ga* (Nom) marking of the reference point, which can lead to the correct use of particles;

Process No.2: Description of the reference point as an entity that has been 'affected' by the target (the occurred event). This can lead to the use of the *ni* passive if the 'affectivity' meaning is associated with this form.

Since the reference point was the same entity as the conceptualizer (or the speaker *watasi* (I)) in the situations presented in the experiments, description of the event from the point of view of the speaker (i.e., the learner) and as 'affecting' him/her is

what the learners had to do for successful production of *ni* passives (and what the Experimental group were taught in the grammar lesson and what the successful or relatively successful learners seem to have done).

As we have seen, metalinguistic knowledge of the 'affectivity' meaning of *ni* passives assisted learning, and it was generally more useful than metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive'. This seems to have happened because 'affectivity' is the key element of Process No. 2. However, unless it is the reference point (rather than the patient) that was described as 'affected', or unless the reference point was used for accessing the target (and thus became the topic/subject) (Process No. 1), errors in particles occurred. This was the case when a learner had an association between the 'affectivity' or adversity meaning with the passive verb alone, and did not consider who was 'affected' by whom/what. Metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' or a clear association between the situation and the use of the *ni* passive without being mediated by the 'affectivity' meaning may have also helped by providing learners with the confidence that this form was appropriate for the situation. However, this did not lead to the correct (grammatical) use of the *ni* passive if the use of the passive verb alone was regarded as the 'passive', and the information as to who was 'affected' by whom/what was not encoded correctly, or the event was not described as something that the reference point had a mental contact with (and was 'affected' by).

Recall that one prominent characteristic observed in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives is the use of a passive verb with the agent marked by *wa* (Top) or *ga* (Nom) (or this noun treated as the agent and placed in the utterance initial position without a case marker) (the 'First Noun Principle in Production'), combined with *P-o* (Acc) or *P-ni* (to) (see Section 2-2 and Chapter 5, Sections 4-2-2 and 5-1-2). This means that the event conceptualisation of the active (Figure 1) rather than that of the reference point-target relationship (Figure 2) was still in operation. Thus, the agent continued to be marked as the topic/subject of the utterance even when the learners produced a passive verb, which sometimes seems to have been used to encode the 'affectivity'/adversity meaning (and thus was treated as a meaningful grammatical form). Importantly, the resulting utterance such as

- (18) ?*Sensei-wa/-ga watasi-ni sikar-are-ta*
 teacher-Top/-Nom I-by scold-Pass-Past
 (The teacher was scolded by me and was negatively 'affected' by this.)

was not intended to mean 'The teacher was scolded by me'⁴¹, and in fact this *Ag-wa (Top)/-ga (Nom) Pass form may be an intermediate form in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives⁴². I shall shortly return to this point.

What is interesting in connection with the above phenomenon is a tendency on the part of some of the learners simply to switch between active and passive verbs without an adjustment of the relevant particles. This switch can be in either direction, that is, from the active to the passive or vice versa. For instance, in Excerpt (19), ConE5 produces a passive verb with active particles, and changes the verb to the active, possibly due to lack of confidence in their morphological correctness⁴³. Indeed, s/he stated at the end of the experiment that s/he could not remember the verbal forms.

Excerpt (19)

ConE5 (*warau* (to laugh) in Posttest 1)

1 ConE5: *Watasi-wa sayuu tigua kutu-o* (SE&SR) um er *hat hatta? hatta node* (1) um
 because I [wore] an odd pair of shoes

2 *tomodati* (1) -ga *watasi-ni* (SR) (2) er *war-a^Hre^{H&HG}-masi-ta* (R)
 friend-Nom I-to *laugh-Pass-Polite-Past

3 *war-are-ta* (SR). (2) L.
 *laugh-Pass-Past

4 I: *Wara* (1) *warau*. (To laugh.)

5 ConE5: *Wara-u*.
 laugh-Nonpast

6 I: Q_{Nn} (Mm.) (7) So what were you trying to say?

7 ConE5: No. I think I was trying to connect P(it) to passive for some reason.

8 I: Q_{Mm} PFor some reason?

9 ConE5: Yeah.

10 ConE5&I: L.

11 ConE5: (1) So *warat-ta*, I think.
 laugh-Past

Although ConE5 reverted to the active in the end, the temporary appearance of the

⁴¹ This was confirmed by making sure that the learners understood the pictures in the experiments. Also, the honorific meaning of the (*r*)*areru* form had not been taught and (18) is unlikely to be in the honorific, active form.

⁴² Tanaka (1999a, 1999b, 2004) also pointed out the learners' tendency to treat the agent as the grammatical subject on the basis of the data she had obtained from written tasks. What I have added is further evidence obtained from spoken data including self-corrections that learners made. Such self-corrections often provide important data indicating what happened in learner's mind in the process of utterance production. Also, the mechanism or cognitive state involved in the production of these utterances need to be explained.

⁴³ A similar phenomenon was observed in ConGer(E)4 in the use of *homeru* (to praise) in Posttest 2.

Verbal forms were not always changed from passives to actives. In Excerpt (20), ExGu/E6 changes the form from the active to the passive after reproducing the active case particles, or switches from *Ag-wa (Top) P-ni (to) A to *Ag-wa (Top) P-ni (to) Pass after coming to realisation that the passive verb was more appropriate for the situation:

18 ExGu/E6: (I'm) confused.

222

Initially (line 3), E/G6 utters

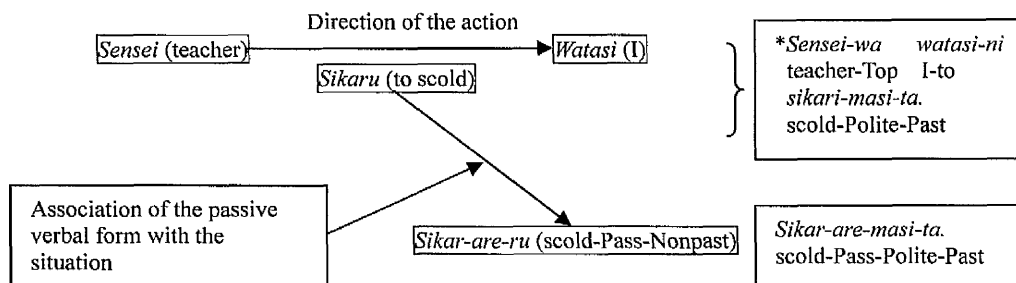
- (21) **sensei-wa watasi-ni sikari^{SH}-masi-ta (SR)*
 teacher-Top I-to scold-Polite-Past

with some hesitation at the end, as evidenced by the slightly rising tone as well as his/her slightly hesitant tone of voice. What can be said about this utterance is that this learner first mentioned the agent *sensei* (teacher) and marked it as the topic because this was where the action of scolding originated. The agent (and the trajector) was the most prominent entity and this noun (treated as the agent) was placed in the utterance initial position (the 'First Noun Principle in Production'). ExGu/E6 also described the action of scolding as directed from the agent to the patient (*sensei-wa watasi-ni* (teacher-Top I-to). However, something happens after ExGu/E6 has completed the active utterance and during the two seconds of pause in which the interviewer tries to move on to the next item (lines 4 & 5); ExGu/E6 realises that s/he should have used the passive verb *sikar-are-masi-ta* (scold-Pass-Polite-Past) (line 6) for the given situation, possibly because s/he remembered this verb being used in this kind of situation in the grammar lesson, and so on. On request to repeat (line 7), s/he simply replaces the active verb with the passive verb and produces (lines 11 and 13)

- (22) ?*Sensei-wa watasi-ni (SR) ^{SH}si, sika, sika^Hr-are-masi-ta*
 teacher-Top I-to scold-Pass-Polite-Past.

This last utterance shows that ExGu/E6 had not overcome the reliance on the 'First Noun Principle in Production'. This led him/her to place the agent in the initial position as the topicalised subject and retain *P-ni* (P-to) as it was in the first utterance. Then this chunk, which reflects the conceptualisation of an active event (as in Figure 1), was combined with the passive verb, without a change of the topic etc. Figure 3 shows the process of producing this utterance:

Figure 3. The process of producing *sensei-wa watasi-ni sikar-are-masi-ta.
teacher-Top I-to scold-Pass-Polite-Past



The switch between the active and the passive verbal forms is very interesting because it seems to be a reflection of this learner's existing interlanguage. That is, *Ag-wa (Top) P-ni (to) A and *Ag-wa (Top) P-ni (to) Pass may have co-existed in his/her mind, or s/he may have been at the transit stage of using the latter instead of the former. However, this learner did not describe the event as in Figure 2 via a reference point, which has a mental contact with the target. This may be because s/he did not have attentional resources to notice the passive particles in input (VanPatten 2004a), and/or had not noticed that *ni* passive form encodes the information that the **grammatical subject** (the **topic** of the utterance) was 'affected' by the event. This possibility is reflected in ExGu/E6's comment itself. That is, ExGu/E6 could not state why s/he had changed the form in this way. When asked why s/he had done this (line 15), ExGu/E6 answered, 'I don't know. (I'm confused' (lines 16 and 18). Whilst it remains unclear whether this learner had implicit knowledge of using the passive verb to encode 'affectivity' for this situation, it is clear that s/he did not have stateable, explicit knowledge of when to use this form and why, unlike more successful learners such as ExE(Fr)7 and ExC(E)3. In other words, the *ni* passive may not have had a strong enough semantic impact on this learner to motivate him/her to use it for the given situation, although s/he must have noticed with a lower level of awareness (Schmidt e.g., 1990, 1995) the passive verb in input. Crucially, s/he was not observed to produce *ni* passives in Posttest 2, which supports Hypothesis 5b. It is possible that what Schmidt referred to as 'awareness at the level of noticing' had disadvantage over 'awareness at the level of understanding', which, in this study, was manifested in the form of metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, or the term 'passive'. This confirms the studies conducted by Leow (1997, 2001), Robinson (1995a), Rosa &

Leow (2004) and Rosa & O'Neill (1999), reviewed in Chapter 1, Section 2. As already mentioned, the lack of success by ExGu/E6 may be related to the lack of a clear reason or motivation to use *ni* passives.

What is interesting about ExGu/E6's performance is the sudden, abrupt appearance of the passive verb (line 6). It is as if it were produced independently of other elements of the utterance, in that its use did not lead to an adjustment of the particles. In the above example, the passive verb that suddenly occurred to ExGu/E6's mind was produced and embedded into the rest of the utterance without conscious manipulation of the verbal form or the particles. For the correct (grammatical) production of the *ni* passive, the use of the passive verb needs to be coordinated with the use of the passive particles. This coordination may have been made possible if this learner had known that the *ni* passive encodes the information that the **grammatical subject** was 'affected' by the occurred event (or the combination of the Processes No.1 and No. 2 stated above).

Thus, as we have seen above, some of the learners initially pay attention to the verbal form and sometimes try to change it between the active and the passive at one stage of learning. This is often accompanied by the active particle *Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) (sometimes combined with *P-ni* (to) or *P-o* (Acc)) (the 'First Noun Principle in Production'), as predicted by Hypothesis 4a. This may form one stage of learning leading up to the appropriate production of *ni* passives.

Returning to the above example of ExGu/E6, the excerpt shows a switch between, and possible continuity of, **Ag-wa* (Top) *P-ni* (to) A and **Ag-wa* (Top) *P-ni* (to) Pass. Another example is available for a similar phenomenon involving **Ag-wa* (Top) Pass and the appropriate DP. ExE(Fr)7 used actives with *iu* (to say/tell) (positive and negative), A + *te simau* (regrettably) for *sikaru* (to scold/tell off) and the appropriate *ni* passives for the rest. However, the production of the appropriate *ni* passive with *warau* (to laugh) was preceded by the initial use of **Ag-wa* Pass as shown below⁴⁵:

⁴⁵ ExE(Fr)7 also initially uttered *Ag-wa* in the utterance initial position before producing the passive verb for *tataku* (to hit) and *naku* (to cry) (dropped item). The following is an example from *tataku*:

ExE(Fr)7 (*tataku* in Posttest 2)

ExE(Fr)7: **Tim-san-wa.** Ah *watasi-wa* *Tim-san-ni* *tata* (1) SH k-are, -masi-ta.
Tim-Top I-Top Tim-by hit-Pass-Polite-Past
 (Tim. Ah I was hit by Tim and was negatively 'affected' by this.)

Excerpt (23)

ExE(Fr)7 (*warau* in Posttest 2)

- 1 ExE(Fr)7: *Watasi-wa yogorerimasita node Emily-san-wa wara* (1) ^H*waraa* (1)
because I [got dirty] Emily-Top
- 2 *warawa, re,* ^{H&SQ}*waru*, *w-a* (1) *re-masi-ta*.
laugh-Pass-Polite-Past
- 3 I: *Warairi? Warari warari?* ((*Laugh)? (*Laugh) (*laugh)?)
- 4 ExE(Fr)7: *Aa passive. L.*
- 5 I: ^Q*Nn.* (Mm.)
- 6 ExE(Fr)7: *Aa* ^H*waraa* (5) *waraw-are* ^{SHG}*-masi-ta*.
er laugh-Pass-Polite-Past
- 7 I: *Nn. Emily nani ly?* (Emily what ly [^{?Emi?ly}?])
- 8 ExE(Fr)7: *Emily-s Emily-ni* (1) ^{H&SQ}*wa* ^{?H&SQ}*ru*
Emily-by (*laugh)
- 9 I: *Wara.* ((Laugh.))
- 10 ExE(Fr)7: *waraw-are-masi-ta. Nn.*
laugh-Pass-Polite-Past
- 11 I: [asks why passive].
- 12 ExE(Fr)7: *Ano tabun 'receive' to*
Well, probably '[to] receive' and
- 13 I: ^{WH}*Nn.*
- 14 ExE(Fr)7: *'effect'.*
'[to have an] effect'

The appearance of *Ag-wa* (Top) at the beginning of the main clause (line 1) indicates that ExE(Fr)7 still had not completely overcome the 'First Noun Principle in Production', although s/he produced the appropriate *ni* passive form in the end. The above example provides valuable data that depict one stage of this learner's developing system, a picture that shows a switch from the active case marking (with *Ag-wa*) with a passive verb to the appropriate (direct) passive case marking⁴⁶. Importantly, this learner exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of both the term 'passive' (line 4) and the meanings of passives (lines 12 and 14). Such knowledge provided him/her with confidence in the appropriateness of the use of the *ni* passive or justification for its use for this item. The opposite phenomenon of self-correction from the *ni* (by) marking of the agent to *ga* (Nom) marking, combined with the passive verb *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past) was also observed in ConGer(E)4 in Posttest 2, suggesting again a continuity of the two forms in question. This is the learner who showed confusion over when to use passives (see Section 3).

What the learners who produced **Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) *P-o* (Acc) Pass, **Ag-ga*

⁴⁶ Considerations of learners' self-corrections allow for observation of the developing nature of their linguistic systems. This may have been much more difficult in a written test, in which learners can erase and change their answers. This indicates a methodological advantage of oral production tests in casting light on the issue of stages of development.

(Nom)/-*wa* (Top) P-*ni* (P-to) Pass and *Ag-*ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) Pass have in common is the difficulty they displayed in describing the event via a reference point, or the switch from the nominative/topical marking of the agent to the *ni* marking, rather than the production of the passive verbal form. Thus, ExGu/E6 could not change the particle on the agent (as well as the patient) in his/her initial utterance

- (24) **Sensei-wa watasi-ni sikari-masi-ta*
 teacher-Top I- to scold-Polite-Past

when s/he produced

- (25) **Sensei-wa watasi-ni sikar-are-masi-ta*
 teacher-Top I-to scold-Pass-Polite-Past;

ExE(Fr)7 initially uttered

- (26) **Emily-san-wa waraw-are-masi-ta*
 Emily-Top laugh-Pass-Polite-Past

before changing this to the appropriate *ni* passive. It is the *ni* marking of the agent that was problematic (to different degrees) for these learners.

In order to explain a possible reason for this difficulty, let us look at the use of *ni* in the following benefactive sentences, which also have a deictic function that passives have:

- (27) *Ken-wa Mike-ni hon-o kat-te age-ta.*
 Ken-Top Mike-Dat book-Acc buy-Ben: 'give' a favour/do a favour-Past
 (Ken 'gave' Mike a favour of/did Mike a favour by buying a book. / Ken bought a book for Mike.)

- (28) *Ken-wa Mike-ni hon-o kat-te morat-ta.*
 Ken-Top Mike-Dat book-Acc buy-Ben: receive a favour-Past
 (Ken received Mike's favour of buying a book.)

It should be noted that the dative *ni* on its own does not specify the direction of an action in (27) and (28). It is the predicates that do this job. Therefore, whether the purchase of the book was directed from Ken to Mike or vice versa depends on the predicate. Thus *katte ageta* ('gave' a favour of/did a favour by buying) in (27)

indicates that the purchase of the book was directed from Ken to Mike whereas *katte moratta* (received a favour of buying) in (28) indicates the opposite direction. It is hypothesised that at least for some learners the dative *ni* is directional and '*Ken-wa Mike-ni*' implies '(from) Ken to Mike' as in '*eki-ni iku* (go **to** the station)'. Supposing that this is correct, the direction of the purchase of the book, which travels from Ken to Mike, is confirmed by *ageta* in (27), and in (28) this assumed direction is cancelled and reversed to 'from Mike to Ken' by the presence of *moratta*. That is, the initially assumed direction of 'from Ken to Mike', which was triggered by the presence of the dative *ni* (*Mike-ni*) is proven wrong at the time when *moratta* is accessed.

Now, let us go back to passives. The accusative *o* in the active

- (29) *Ken-ga Mike-o sikat-ta*
 Ken-Nom Mike-Acc scold-Past
 (Ken scolded Mike)

indicates that the action of scolding was imposed by the agent on the patient (the direct object), possibly causing change in Mike's emotional state. Some of the learners mark the agent with *ni* instead of *o* and in this case, the former has less connotation of imposition of an action on the patient (the indirect object) because it has lower transitivity. Thus,

- (30) **Ken-ga Mike-ni sikat-ta*
 Ken-Nom Mike-to scold-Past
 (*Ken scolded to Mike)

describes more of the direction of an action of scolding that travelled from Ken to Mike, not necessarily causing change in Mike, rather than the agent-patient relationship. It is similar to (27) in that the direction of the action is assumed to be from Ken to Mike, and this assumption is supported by the presence of the active verbal form of *sikat-ta* (scold-Past). Then the passive

- (31) *Ken-ga Mike-ni sikar-are-ta*
 Ken-Nom Mike-by scold-Pass-Past
 (Ken was scolded by Mike and was negatively 'affected' by this)

would parallel (28) in that the assumed direction of ‘from Ken to Mike’ is cancelled and reversed by the passive verbal form *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past). It seems that for some of the learners, this reversal triggered by a passive verb is not easy to notice or take in. The ungrammatical *Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*ni* (to) Pass, *Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*o* (Acc) Pass or *Ag-*wa* (Top) Pass occurs because this reversal has not been associated with the use of the passive verb. This is why they continue to encode the direction of the action from the agent to the patient even when they produce the passive verb. The passive verb is used independently (without affecting the use of the particles) to encode ‘affectivity’/adversity (when treated as meaningful) or because learners had an association between this form and the situation. In order to encourage the ‘reversal’ of the particles on the agent and the patient, it is necessary that learners learn to encode the correct information as to **who was ‘affected’ and by whom**. For this to happen, the event should not be conceptualised as a transfer of energy from the agent to the patient as in Figure 1; it should be accessed via the reference point *watasi* (I) and conceptualised as a target that this reference point has a mental contact with and is ‘affected’ by (Figure 2) (or Processes No 1 and No 2 above). The coordination of the use of the correct particles and the passive verb can be made possible by encouraging learners to describe the event as something that has happened to the ‘affected’ person, and to use the *ni* passive to encode the information that s/he was ‘affected’. This is what seems to have happened to some of the successful learners (ExC(E)3 and ExE(Fr)7). Explicit explanation of why forms like *Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*o* (Acc) *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past) and *Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*ni* (to) *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past) are incorrect, or provision of negative evidence (White 1991), may provide a shortcut in the process of learning. This is important since learners can spend an extended period of time producing this kind of construction, as was the case in the present study (in which this form was observed frequently even in Posttest 2) as well as in the previous studies (Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2004).

Having examined possible processes of learning to produce DPs, the remaining job is to explain the same for PPs.

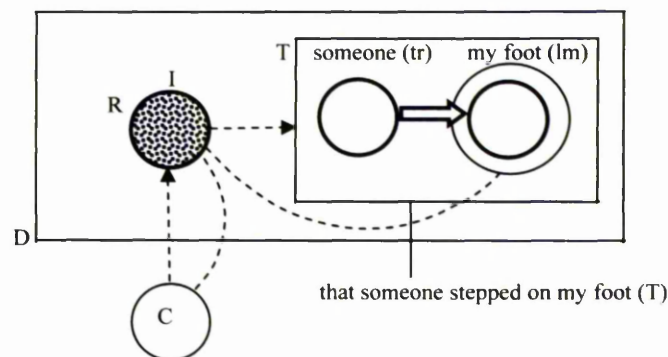
6-2. Possessor Passives

As we have seen in Chapter 2, Section 3-2, the conceptualisation of the event in the

PP has some similarities with that in the DP. That is, the occurred event is conceptualised as a whole and via a reference point that has been ‘affected’ by it, as follows:

Figure 4. (Figure 5 of Chapter 2) Cognitive model of the PP (with *asi-o humareru*)

Watasi-wa dareka-ni asi-o hum-are-ta.
 I-Top someone-by foot-Acc step on-Pass-Past
 (I had my foot stepped on by someone and was negatively ‘affected’ by this.)



Large circle around ‘my foot’ in the target domain (T): implicit possessor

This is distinct from the active (Figure 5) or the DP (Figure 6) below:

Figure 5. Cognitive model of the active transitive (with *humu*)

Dareka-ga watasi-no asi-o hun-da.
 someone-Nom my foot-Acc step on-Past
 (Someone stepped on my foot.)

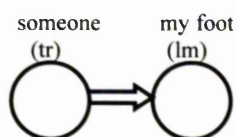
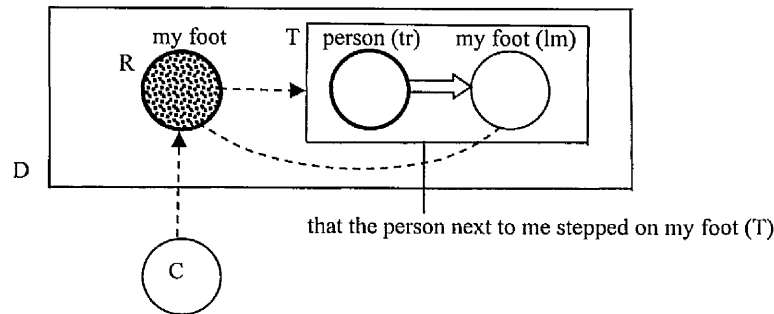


Figure 6. Cognitive model of the DP (with *asi-ga humareru*)

?*Watasi-no asi-ga tonari-no hito-ni hum-are-ta.*
 my foot-Nom person next to me-by step on-Pass-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by this.)



The possible processes involved in learning to produce PPs are the production of passive verbs and an adjustment of particles, as in the case of DPs. The similarity in the processes of learning these passives (possibly at an early stage) is reflected in the occurrences of the forms **Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) *P-o* (Acc) Pass (or **Ag-ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) *P-ni* (to) Pass), such as

(32) ?*Tonari-no hito-ga (watasi-no) asi-o hum-are-masi-ta*
 person next to me-Nom (my) foot-Acc step on-Pass-Polite-Past

that some of the learners produced for the PP items (see Chapter 5, Sections 4-2-2 and 5-1-2). In such an utterance, which cannot have been intended to mean ‘?The person next to me had my foot stepped on and was negatively “affected” by this’, the action of the agent is described as physically affecting (*P-o* (Acc)) or being directed at (*P-ni* (to)) the patient. This is combined with the passive verbal form, sometimes in an attempt to encode the ‘affectivity’ or the ‘adversity’ meaning, or because the learner had associated the situation with the use of the passive verb, as we have seen. The following excerpt shows this:

Excerpt (33)

ConGer(E)4 (*humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2, when this learner was reflecting on the use of this verb)

1 ConGer(E)4: Um *Nihongo-de* passive

in Japanese passive means

2 I: *Nn.* (Mm.)

3 ConGer(E)4: -*wa iraira*. L. Er it sounds you’re irritated.
 irritation.

4 I: *Nn nn.* (Mm mm.)

- 5 ConGer(E)4: *Kara er hu, hum-are-ta.*
so step on-Pass-Past
6 I: *-Ga ii?* (Is better?)
7 ConGer(E)4: *Nn. -Ga ii to omou.* (Yes. I think that's better.)
8 I: *Nn.* [asks to repeat what ConGer(E)4 had said earlier]. *Siranai hito?* (Stranger?)
9 ConGer(E)4: *Soo siranai hito-ga* (SR)
stranger-Nom
10 I: *Nn.*
11 ConGer(E)4: *te-o hum-are-ta.*
hand-Acc step on-Pass-Past

(34) **siranai hito-ga* (SR) *te-o* *hum-are-ta*
stranger-Nom hand-Acc step on-Pass-Past.

Excerpt (35)

- 1 ConGer(E)4: *Otooto-wa* (SE)
 younger brother-Top
 2 I: *[Nn]* (Mm.)
 3 ConGer(E)4: *watasi-no* um (*ni*)*kki-o* (SE) er (2) ah er (y) *[nn]* yes *yon-de* ah
 my [diary]-Acc read-Ger
 4 I: *[Nn]*
 5 ConGer(E)4: (2) *[yom-are^{H&SHG}-masi-ta (SR)]* *[...]* I will say *yomi-masi-ta*.
 read-Pass-Polite-Past read-Polite-Past
 6 I: L.
 7 ConGer(E)4&I: L.
 8 I: [asks to try again].
 9 ConGer(E)4: Yeah. **There's**
 10 I: Mm.
 11 ConGer(E)4: **um**.
 12 I: *[...]*
 13 ConGer(E)4: *[There was]* one way you, you sound annoyed.

- 14 I: Nn.
 15 ConGer(E)4: Um. (2) Yeah [^Hyom-are^{H&HG}-masi-ta (SR)]. Er. (1) [^{SH}Wata (1) watasi-wa
 read-Pass-Polite-Past I-Top
 16 ConGer(E)4: um (3) ootoo-ni er nikki-o er [^{SH}yom-are^{SH&HG}-masi-ta]
 younger brother-by diary-Acc read-Pass-Polite-Past
 (SR).

After producing *otooto-wa watasi-no nikki-o* (younger brother-Top my diary-Acc) (lines 1 and 3), this learner changes the verbal form from the active (*yon-de* (read-Ger)) to the passive (*yom-are-masi-ta* (read-Pass-Polite-Past)), and then again to the active (*yomi-masi-ta* (read-Polite-Past)) (lines 3 and 5), displaying a clear sign of confusion. This switch between the active and the passive verbs was observed in other learners as well, as we have seen in Section 6-1. What happens next is important. This learner states that there is a form to encode the information that one is annoyed, or the adversity meaning (lines 9, 11 and 13). Interestingly, s/he immediately produces the passive verb *yomaremasita* alone (line 15), as s/he did with *hum-are-ta* (step on-Pass-Past) in Posttest 2 (see line 5 of Excerpt (33)). This is where the process towards the production of the grammatically correct PP stopped in this learner in this excerpt, as we have just seen. That is, s/he associated the meaning of the passive with the passive verb and not with the use of the particles, leading to an ungrammatical combination of the active particles and the passive verb⁴⁷.

What is crucial in Excerpt (35) is the fact that ConGer(E)₄ went further than associating the annoyance meaning to the passive verb and considered to whom this event was annoying. This led to the appearance of Poss-*wa* (Top) and the change in the particle on the agent (lines 15 and 16). This is a very important step forward in the grammatically correct use of the PP.

As in the case of DPs, there is some evidence that indicates the connection between *Ag-*ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) P-*o* (Acc) Pass and the grammatically correct PP. The performance of ConGer(E)4 in the use of *yomu* (to read) in Posttest 1, which we have just examined, provides one such evidence, although this is a case of backsliding in that the grammatically correct PP appeared in Posttest 1, but not in Posttest 2. ExE8 was also observed to produce the PP with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) and the DP with *sikaru* (to scold/tell off), and the passive verb with Ag-*ga* (Nom)

⁴⁷ This is a form we have come across on a number of occasions in the experiments. In fact, ConGer(E)4 also produced *Ag-wa (Top) P-ni (to) Pass with *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 1.

P-o (Acc) with *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 1. Also, in the use of the verb *yomu* (to read) (item dropped from analysis), this learner used the PP when the addressee was a close friend, and *Ag-ga P-o Pass when it was her mother. In Posttest 2, this learner lost accuracy in the use of particles (backsliding)⁴⁸ and produced *Ag-ga (Nom) P-o (Acc) Pass with all these verbs (and *homeru* (to praise)), which shows the operation of the 'First Noun Principle in Production'. In the Year 4 test, s/he was again observed to produce the grammatically correct PP with *toru*⁴⁹. This learner's performance suggests the following two points. First, the consistent use of the passive verbs in both tests, whether or not accompanied by the correct particles, indicates that for this learner the production of the passive verbal forms was more stable than that of the particles. Interestingly, this learner had metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' and thus explicit associations between the situations and the use of passive verbs at least, in both tests. This may have contributed to stabilising the use of passive verbs in the way I described in Section 5. However, a further consideration of the use of the particles (or who was 'affected' by whom/what) did not occur when s/he produced *Ag-ga P-o Pass, just as in the case of ConGer(E)4 in Excerpt (33). Secondly, the co-occurrence of the PP and *Ag-ga P-o Pass in Posttest 1, and the pattern this learner followed in the production of *nusum-are-ru/tor-are-ru* (steal-Pass-Nonpast) from Posttest 1 to the Year 4 test, suggest that these forms may have been on a continuum in the process of learning to produce PPs, although it is unclear, given lack of further data, whether other forms appeared between these tests. The difficulty this learner exhibited in the *ni* marking of the agent can be explained in the same manner as proposed in Section 6-1.

So far, I have described similar processes involved in the production of both DPs and PPs that may have occurred in some of the learners in the present study. There is, however, one major difference between the production of DPs and PPs: that is, the reference point. In the DP (Figure 6), the reference point is the patient and the event is described as something that has happened to the patient. In the PP (Figure 4), on

⁴⁸ As mentioned in Section 4-5, this may have been caused by the interruption this learner had whilst staying in France before the Period Abroad Programme in Japan.

⁴⁹ This was clearly the case with one of the two occurrences of this verb. In the other case, this learner uttered

ExE8: <i>Nn hikidasi zenbuu</i> (1) <i>akete</i>	<i>1,000-en-o</i>	<i>aa</i> (1) <i>to</i>	<i>tor-are-te</i> (SR)...
mm (the burglar) opened all the drawers and	1,000 yen-Acc	er	steal-Pass-Ger...

It is unclear if the implied grammatical subject of the verb *tor-are-te* (steal-Pass-Ger) is the possessor 'I' or the agent 'burglar'.

the other hand, it is the possessor that is treated as the reference point. This means that the event is described as something that has happened to the possessor rather than to the patient. In order to produce the latter, it is necessary to encode the possessor separately from the patient. Failure to do so can result in the use of the active or the DP such as

- (36) ?*Watasi-no asi-ga hum-are-ta*
 my foot-Nom step on-Pass-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this)

in place of the PP in

- (37) *Watasi-wa asi-o hum-are-ta*
 I-Top foot-Acc step on-Pass-Past
 (I had my foot stepped on and was negatively 'affected' by this).

This separation of the possessor and the description of the event with the possessor as the reference point can be made possible in a similar manner to what I have suggested for the DP, that is, by encouraging learners to consider what the most important entity that was 'affected' by the event is. This can not only lead to the use of the possessor as the reference point and the passive verb that encodes 'affectivity' (and thus the production of the PP), but also to avoidance of the deviant use of the DP instead of the PP for situations such as having one's foot/hand stepped on. As I noted in Chapter 3, Section 2-2, the use of the DP in place of PP was observed to be common in Tanaka's (1996, 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) studies and some of the learners fossilised or stabilised at this stage in the process of acquisition of PPs, regardless of their L1s (Tanaka 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a). In the present study, in which the learners (in both groups) were taught the oddity of using the DP instead of the PP, there was only one occurrence of the DP for the PP items (Hypothesis 4c) observed in ExC1 (NS of Chinese) in the use of *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2⁵⁰. As

⁵⁰ Also, as I noted in Section 2-3, the *P-wa Ag-de A form with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) in

**Saihu-wa suri-de tot-ta*
 purse-Top pickpocket-by/-due to steal-Past

may be an intermediate form leading to the DP

Saihu-ga suri-ni tor-are-ta
 purse-Nom pickpocket-by steal-Pass-Past.

I have noted, this may have been caused by negative transfer from his/her L1 Chinese. The rare appearances of DPs in place of PPs in this study forms a sharp contrast to Tanaka's results and the reason for this may be attributed to the instructional method I have adopted⁵¹. As we have seen in examining the data, the successful use of PPs was almost exclusively observed in the learners in the Experimental group⁵², who were taught to place the possessor, the most important participant of the event, in the grammatical subject position. Also, in the use of passive verbs with incorrect particles in Posttest 1, the possessor only appeared separated from the patient in the Experimental group⁵³. Although there is not enough evidence to claim that these forms led to the use of PPs later on, and further studies are necessary to examine this issue, the difference between the two groups is still very interesting, given the theoretical importance of the separately encoded possessor in PPs. I shall therefore describe what might have happened to these learners in cognitive terms.

The possessor was marked with *wa* (Top)/*ga* (Nom) or *ni* (to), and sometimes appeared with the patient marked with *ni* (to) or *o* (Acc), followed by the active or the passive verb as in

$$(38) \boxed{\text{Poss-}wa/-ga/-ni} + \boxed{(P-ni/-o)} + \boxed{\text{verb in the active/passive}}.$$

Obviously, *Poss-wa/-ga* and *P-o* are closer to the PP than *Poss-ni* and *P-ni*. A question arises as to how these forms are related (if they are) to the target PP forms.

What is striking is the frequent appearance of *Ag-wa* (Top) *Poss-ni* (to) in combination with an active or a passive verb, particularly in the use of *humu* (to step

However, the use of this form was not actually observed to lead to later production of the DP in the present study. More frequent observation of the learners between Posttest 1 and Posttest 2 would have been necessary to check if the DP appeared in these learners after the use of **P-wa Ag-de A*.

⁵¹ Instances of the use of the DP in place of the PP were not observed in the learners in the Control group. However, the data also show that many of these learners used actives rather than PPs. Therefore, the non-appearance of the DPs for the PP items in these learners does not necessarily mean that they were more successful in avoiding them than the learners in the Experimental group.

⁵² The only use of the PP in the Control group is the production of *hum-are-te sima-u* (step on-Pass-regrettably-Nonpast) by ConC/E1 in Posttest 2. The fact that the control group performed as poorly as they did in this study in the use of the PPs is interesting. They were taught that these passives should be used for adverse situations, and it is understandable if they could not produce DPs, which were taught as semantically neutral. It may be the case that lack of efficiency of teaching multiple types of passives resulted in the overall differences between the two groups in the production of both DPs and PPs, as already suggested.

⁵³ The 'separate possessor' appeared in the learners in the Control group in combination with active verbs. However, the fact that the verbs were in their active forms indicates that these learners were not as successful as the learners who used the passive verbs with the 'separate possessor'.

on) in the learners of the Experimental group (ExC1 (with the passive verb), ExE5 (with the active verb) and possibly ExGu/E6 (with the passive verb)) in Posttest 1. The fact that these learners placed (the first noun treated as) the agent in the utterance initial position and/or marked it as the topic indicates that the 'First Noun Principle in Production' was in operation. However, instead of using the grammatical active transitive as in

- (39) *Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-no asi-o humi-masi-ta*
 person next to me-Top **my foot-Acc** step on-Polite-Past
 (The person next to me stepped on **my foot**),

describing the incident as something that the person next to the speaker had done to the speaker's foot, these learners separated the possessor from the patient and treated it as a direct participant of the event. This possessor *watasi* (I) was marked with *ni* (to) in *watasi-ni* (I-to) (to me) to indicate that it was something that had happened to the possessor *watasi* or 'to me', rather than to the patient *asi* (foot). As noted earlier, this manner of event conceptualisation is closer to the PP in

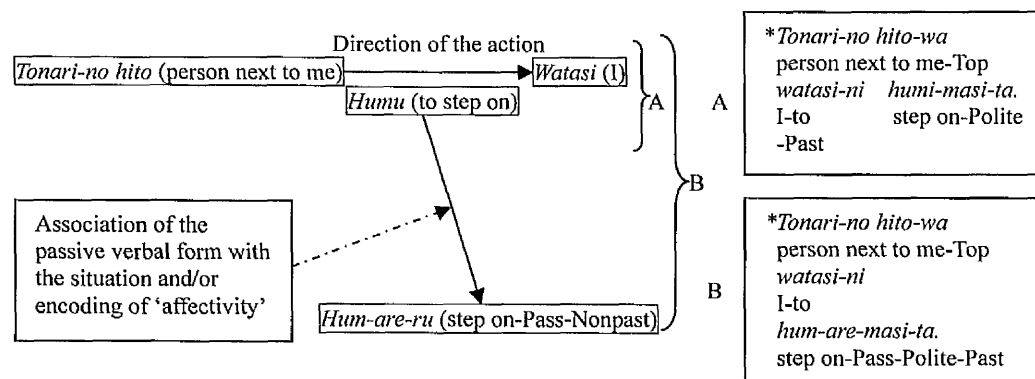
- (40) *watasi-wa tonari-no hito-ni asi-o hum-are-masi-ta*
 I-Top person next to me-by foot-Acc step on-Pass-Polite-Past
 (I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by this),

in which *watasi* (I) is the topic and the focus of concern. This means that the close relationship between the utterance with a separately encoded possessor and the PP obtains (if not to the same degree) whether the possessor is marked with *ni* (to), *wa* (Top) or *ga* (Nom). The phrase *tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni* (person next to me-Top I-to) shows that the action was directed from *tonari-no hito* to *watasi*, as in the case of *Ag-*wa* (Top) P-*ni* (to) Pass that I examined in Section 6-1. The verbal stem *hum-* that follows *watasi-ni*, whether in its active or passive form depending on the learner's ability to produce the verbal form, specifies the basic semantic content of the action taken by the agent *tonari-no hito*, that is, stepping on the speaker's foot (rather than performing some other action on it). If the verb is in the active form, however, this means that its lexical content (with or without the polite *masu* ending) was all that the learner could produce, unless s/he was trying to say '?The person next to me stepped on me'; if the passive verb is used, it means that this verbal form

was most likely to have been treated as a meaningful grammatical form, or the use of this form was associated with the situation, since it is likely that the learner would not have used the passive verb without such a reason to do so. Figure 7 shows the difference between *Ag-wa (Top) Poss-ni (to) A and *Ag-wa (Top) Poss-ni (to) Pass:

Figure 7. The process of producing

**Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni humi-masi-ta/hum-are-masi-ta.*
 person next to me-Top I-to step on-Polite-Past/step on-Pass-Polite-Past



The dotted arrow indicates that the association of the passive verbal form with the situation, and sometimes with the 'affectivity' meaning, does not always occur. It is in operation when a learner uses the passive verb and it is not when s/he opts for the active verb. Whereas the appearance of the possessor in *Ag-wa (Top) Poss-ni (to) A has a property of the event conceptualisation of the PP as mentioned above, the use of the passive verb means that the learner additionally knew, possibly implicitly (see Section 5), that for this situation the passive verb should be used, although the lack of adjustment of the particles resulted in ungrammaticality of the utterance as a whole⁵⁴. Also, as we have seen, the association between the situation and the use of the passive construction or sometimes the passive verb seems to be stronger or more stable if it is supported by the metalinguistic knowledge I have argued to be useful in Section 5.

What should be noted here is the conceptualisation of the event as directed to the possessor *watasi* (I) rather than to the patient *asi* (foot), as we have seen. Also it should be noted that in the above cases, the patient does not appear at all in the

⁵⁴ See Section 6-1 above for an explanation of the possible reason for the difficulty of the *ni* marking of the agent.

learners' utterances. There are other cases in which both the possessor and the patient appeared as separate, if related, entities, although the use of the particles was incorrect for the PP. Obviously, this construction is closer to the PP. One example of such a phenomenon is ExGu/E6's utterance in Posttest 1 (see footnote 10 in Chapter 5 for an explanation of the particles on the agent and the patient):

ExGu/E6 (*humu* (to step on) in Posttest 1)

- (41) * *tonari-no hito (w)er/aa wata^{SH}sii* (2) *watasi-ni* (1) *watasi-no asi* (2) er
 person next to me er/(-Top) I-to my foot
^Q*do* *hum-are, hum-are^{SH&SHG}-masi-ta.*
 -Acc? step on-Pass-Polite-Past

Similarly, for the item to test the use of *humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2, ExE5 produced

ExE5 (*humu* in Posttest 2) (Example (42) = Example (18) in Chapter 5; Example (43) = Example (19) in Chapter 5)

- (42) **onna-no koto-wa um wasi-ni* (1) er *te^Q-de/te* *husi-masi-ta*
 [woman]-Top I-to hand-by/hand *step on-Polite-Past,

although this learner changed his/her utterance to

- (43) **onna-no koto-wa (-)wa wasi-ga wasi-no te (E) -de* (1) um
 [woman]-Top (I)/-Top I-Nom my hand-by
husi-masi-ta
 *step on-Polite-Past.

The first utterance is interesting in terms of its similarity to the utterance made by ExGu/E6 in the use of the particles on the agent and the possessor, as well as the presence of the separately encoded patient, although its particle is unclear (and ExE5's latter utterance also contains the 'separate possessor' and the patient). These learners differ from most of the other learners who did not encode the possessor as the recipient of the action when they chose to encode the patient or vice versa. Assuming that ExGu/E6's utterance was intended as

- (44) **Tonari-no hito-wa wasi-ni wasi-no asi-o hum-are-masi-ta*
 person next to me-Top I-to my foot-Acc step on-Pass-Polite-Past

and ExE5's utterance represented an attempt at

- (45) **Onna-no hito-wa watasi-ni te[omitted -o or -de] humi-masi-ta*
 woman-Top I-to hand[-Acc/-by] step on-Polite-Past,

a question arises as to what cognitive states were involved in the production of these utterances. The fact that ExE(Fr)7 associated the French dative 'On m'a volé ma portefeuille (Literally: Someone to me stole my purse)', which is a possible constructional 'equivalent' of ExE5's utterance, with the Japanese PP with *musumu/toru* (to steal) also suggests a possible close relationship between these forms in learning.

In the above analysis of the PP, the possessor, which functions as a reference point, is psychologically 'affected' by the described event in the target domain, whereas the patient receives physical effect from the agent in the form of transmission of energy (see also Chapter 2, Section 3-2). This analysis is closely related to Langacker's (1991) analysis of indirect object as an active experiencer that is 'initiative in the sense of generating the cognitive activity through which an internal representation is produced or mental contact is otherwise established' (p. 327) with the patient⁵⁵. As an example situation, Langacker states 'if someone breaks my arm, I am both the patient with respect to the action and an experiencer with respect to the resultant change of state'. Langacker (p. 328) characterises possession as the reason for an action triggering a mental experience and provides an example of a French dative expression *Je lui ai cassé le bras* (I broke his arm) (literally: I to him broke the arm). Langacker specifies the indirect object of this sentence as coding the **experiencer**, although indirect object is normally associated with the **possessor**, in that 'the breaking of an arm induces a sensation registered specifically by the person who possesses it' (p. 328). As Langacker states, 'distinct facets of the victim's participation are separately coded by the direct and indirect objects - the arm's passive change of state by the former, and the victim's awareness and proprietary interest by the latter' (pp. 238-9).

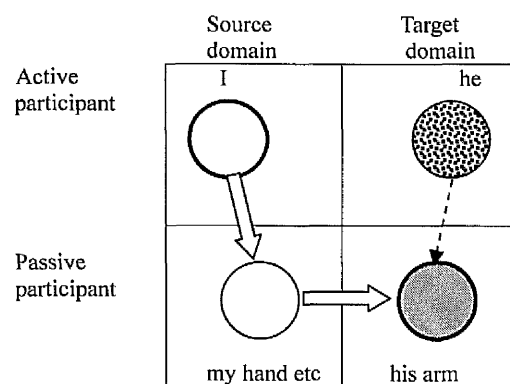
The experiencer role of the indirect object and the reference point role in the Japanese PP seem to exhibit similarity. In the PP, *Watasi-wa Ken-ni ude-o orareta* (I had my arm broken by Ken and was negatively 'affected' by this), the arm's change of state is coded by P-o (Acc) in the target domain, and the victim's awareness and

⁵⁵ Langacker uses different terminology and refers to the patient as 'theme'. See Langacker (1991, p. 288).

proprietary interest, or negative 'affectivity' by the Poss-*wa* (Top), which is a reference point rather than an indirect object. Crucially, both the experiencer and the reference point exist outside the action chain, without being physically affected in a direct way, and they are both mentally 'affected' by the incident described in the action chain. Figure 8 represents the role of the indirect object and Figure 9 (cf. Figure 4) the reference point in the situations in question:

Figure 8.⁵⁶ Typical connections among the basic role archetypes

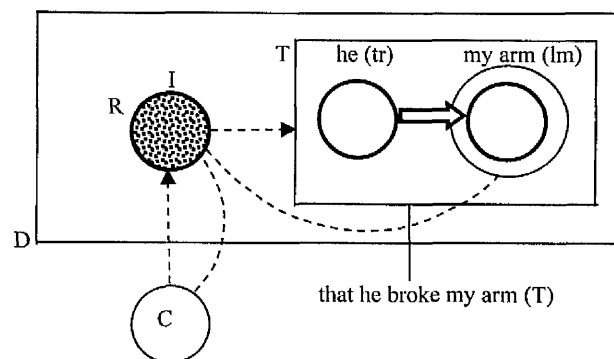
Sentence under discussion: *Je lui ai cassé le bras.* (I broke his arm.) (Literally: I to him broke the arm.)



I: agent
 my hand etc: instrument which mediates the transfer of energy from the agent to the patient
 he: experiencer
 his arm: patient
 Spotted circle: emotionally 'affected' entity
 Grey circle: entity that has changed its state

Figure 9. Cognitive model of the PP (with *ude-o orareru*)

Watasi-wa kare-ni ude-o oraeta. (I had my arm broken by him and was negatively 'affected' by this.)

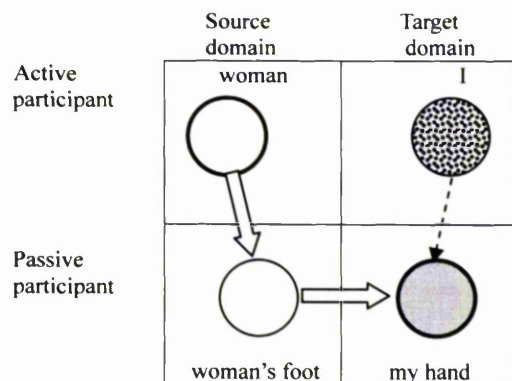


⁵⁶ This figure is based on Langacker (1991, p. 327). However, I have modified it to reflect my argument and to maintain consistency with other figures.

The following shows the cognitive model for the utterance (45), which is the Japanese 'structural equivalent' of the above French dative construction, and what can be regarded as representing ExE5's utterance. Note that this utterance only differs in the form of the verb from the one that ExGu/E6 is deemed to have had in his/her mind (see Example (44)).

Figure 10. Cognitive model of the utterance

**Onna-no hito-wa watasi-ni te-o [or -de] humi-masi-ta.*
 woman-Top I-to hand-Acc (or -by) step on-Polite-Past

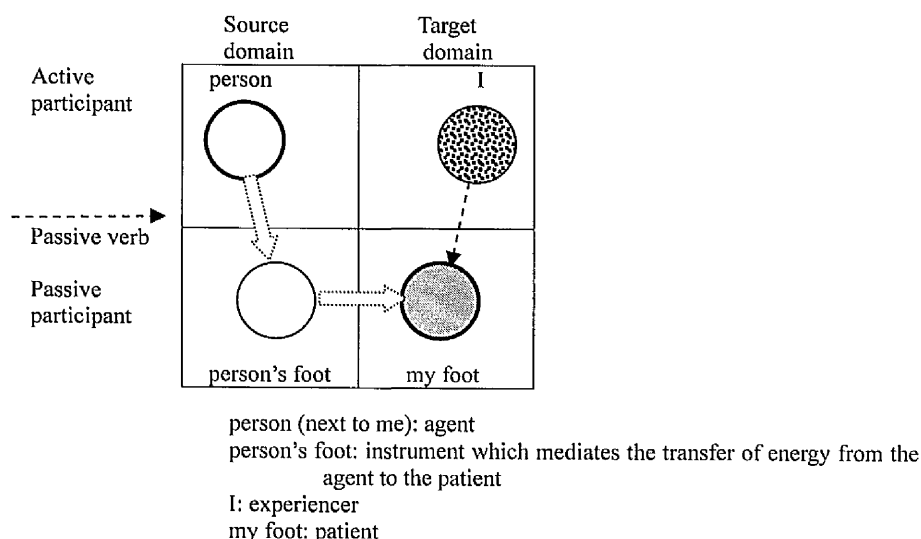


woman: agent
 woman's foot: instrument which mediates the transfer of energy from the agent to the patient
 I: experiencer
 my hand: patient

Turning to ExGu/E6, the fact that this learner used the passive verb means that although his/her utterance is based on Figure 10, it also has a property of Figure 9. That is, it is a hybrid of Figures 9 and 10:

Figure 11. Cognitive model of the utterance

**Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni watasi-no asi-o hum-are-masi-ta.*
 person next to me-Top I-to my foot-Acc step on-Pass-Polite-Past



The dotted double arrows from the 'person' to 'person's foot' and 'person's foot' to 'my foot', and the dotted arrow outside the source and the target domains represent the use of the passive verb *hum-are-masi-ta* (step on-Pass-Polite-Past). The first two are represented as dotted double arrows since the passive verb does not describe the action as a transmission of energy from the 'person' to 'my foot' via 'person's foot' in the same way as the active verb does, although such a transmission still exists and the learner knew that this is what happened (and thus the double arrows are still present in the dotted forms). The latter (the dotted arrow outside the source and the target domains) represents the appearance of the passive verbal form as in the PP (Figure 4). However, what is crucial in Figure 11 is the lack of the reference point 'I' as in Figure 4 that lies outside (the source and) the target domain(s) and has a mental contact with the target (that the person next to me stepped on my foot). Such a reference point is essential in the grammatical PP. In ExGu/E6's utterance, 'I' as an experiencer lies within the target domain. For the grammatically correct use of the PP, this experiencer needs to come out of the target (and the source) domain(s) and be treated as a reference point, or it should be regarded as an entity that has a mental contact with the target 'that the person stepped on my foot' **as a whole**, as in the cognitive model for the PP (Figure 4). This has not happened for this learner at this stage.

Having said that, the appearance of the possessor as an experiencer is a step closer

to the use of the PP, compared to the active or the DP in which the possessor is not separated from the patient. In other words, the utterances represented in Figures 10 and 11 are distinct from the grammatical active (Figure 5) and the DP (Figure 6) in that the possessor appears as a separate entity in the former whereas in the latter it is captured together with the patient.

Thus, what is crucial in learning to produce PPs is the fact that the conceptualisation of an event as what happened to and 'affected' *watasi* (the possessor and the speaker, which may be treated as an experiencer), rather than *watasi-no asi* (the speaker's foot), has cognitive similarity to the PP construction (40), in which *watasi* (I) is the reference point and the topic and therefore the focus of concern. This is reflected in the appearance of the 'separate possessor' in the cognitive model and is true whether or not the patient *asi-o* (foot-Acc) or *asi-ni* (foot-to) is present in the utterance. The appearance of the possessor *watasi* (I) in learners' utterances may well reflect one stage of leaning of the PP, or *ni* passives in general.

To summarise and conclude the argument so far, the emergence in the learner's productions of the possessor (possibly with an active verb initially) can be regarded as improvement and possibly as one of the stages between the use of the active and the PP. As we have seen, in the active (Figure 5) the possessor *watasi* (I) does not exist as a separate entity, whereas in

- (46) **Tonari-no hito-wa watasi-ni (asi-o) humi-masi-ta*
 person next to me-Top I-to (foot-Acc) step on-Polite-Past

it appears separately from the patient, **ready to be taken out of the target domain to become a reference point** as in the PP represented in Figure 4. This construction is also distinct from the use of the DP

- (47) ?*Watasi-no asi-ga tonari-no hito-ni hum-are-masi-ta*
 my foot-Nom person next to me-by step on-Pass-Polite-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by this),

in which the absence of the possessor *watasi* (I), separated from the patient *asi* (foot), puts this DP construction at a remove from the PP with the possessor as the

reference point. This means that the learner's use of the DP for the items for which the PP is appropriate is not much of improvement from the use of the active (see also Mizutani 1985, p. 21), despite the appearance of the passive verb⁵⁷. It would be ideal if learners are guided to avoid the use of the DP in the course of learning to produce PPs. I shall return to this issue later and in Chapter 7.

As an illustration of this point, it is very interesting to note that a shift between Poss-*ni* (to) and P-*ni* (to) was observed in ConE5's utterance in (48) (or Example (16) in Chapter 5), in which s/he initially uttered Ag-*wa* (Top) Poss-*ni* (to), and changed Poss-*ni* to P-*ni* as follows:

ConE5 (*humu* (to step on) in Posttest 2)
 (48) ConE5: **Siranai hito-wa* *watasi-ni* ah *watasi-no* *te-ni* (R) *hum-are-ta* (R).
 stranger-Top I-to my hand-to step on-Pass-Past

The above utterance reveals an intriguing phenomenon of (a brief) appearance of the possessor, although it was quickly changed to the patient. This brief appearance of the possessor may reflect the conceptualisation of the event as something that happened to the speaker/possessor at the time when ConE5 uttered Poss-*ni* (to). It also suggests that the choice between the possessor and the patient was available to this learner and s/he initially encoded the possessor as a direct participant of the event. It is interesting that s/he showed some success in the overall use of *ni* passives in Posttest 2⁵⁸. It may be the case that the appearance of the 'separate possessor' in the PP items is related to the general ability to use *ni* passives (with the (emotionally) 'affected' entity encoded as a (direct) participant of the event). This claim will be more convincing if data showing a switch from the *ni* (to) marking of the possessor to its *wa* (Top)/*ga* (Nom) marking are obtained in further studies.

What can be done to avoid an ungrammatical combination of particles and the passive verb and the use of the DP for the PP items is the same as what I have suggested for DPs. Learners should be taught to avoid the conceptualisation of the event as transfer of energy from the agent to the patient (Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*o* (Acc) or Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*ni* (to)) as in the active (Figure 5), and

⁵⁷ It is interesting that the learners who produced *P-*wa* (Top) Ag-*de* (by/due to) A with *toru* (to steal), which I argued, in Section 2-3, may be related to the DP, did not produce PPs later on.

⁵⁸ This learner produced passive verbs with incorrect particles in all the target items but *iu* (to say/tell) (negative and positive).

access the event as a whole (the target) via a reference point (which is the same entity as the conceptualizer and the speaker for the items tested in the experiments) as in Figure 4. This can be achieved by encouraging a description of the event from the point of view of the person who was 'affected' by it. That is, the same Processes No. 1 and No. 2, which I have suggested in Section 6-1, are necessary, with the possessor as the reference point being the 'affected' entity. Process 1 can contribute to the correct use of particles whereas Process 2 to the use of the *ni* passive, if the 'affectivity' meaning is related to this construction⁵⁹. Importantly, this is true regardless of which construction is preferred for a given situation in a learner's L1 (or any other language(s) s/he knows). This is because such an approach is likely to encourage learners to use this form when someone was 'affected' by an event and to describe the situation from that person's point of view. That is, if learners are told that 'This situation is about this person and how s/he felt', then they are more likely to regard this person as the subject/topic of the utterance (overcoming the reliance on the 'First Noun Principle in Production') and to encode the 'affectivity' meaning. The semantic impact of treating *ni* passive forms as meaningful, as well as knowing that these passives are unique (nonredundant) and different from actives, can increase the likelihood of *ni* passives being learned and used (see Chapter 3, Section 4-2). This is the approach I have adopted in this study and which the better performance of the Experimental group substantiates as correct. Here again, the metalinguistic knowledge about the meanings and function of *ni* passives seems to have assisted learning these passives, and importantly, to avoid the inappropriate DP for the PP items, as we have seen. Also, as predicted by Hypothesis 4c, providing negative evidence such as that the DP in (47) is deviant was beneficial, since such information is not available in natural input (White 1991). The results obtained from the experiments generally support these claims.

7. Summary and conclusions

From the analysis of the data presented above in detail, Research Questions 1 and 3 to 6 can be answered as follows.

⁵⁹ As we have seen, if the notion of 'affectivity' or adversity is associated with the passive verb alone, errors in particles may occur.

Research Question 1

Do ni passives present a particular area of difficulty for JFL learners, and especially those in a group with no instruction regarding the 'affectivity' meaning of ni passives, as suggested in the literature?

The results of the experiments suggest that *ni* passives are indeed difficult for the learners in the Control group. Most of them continued to use actives even after staying in Japan on the Period Abroad Programme. Although improvement was observed in most of the learners in the Experimental group, there were learners who only showed partial ability to produce *ni* passives (passive verbs or particles alone), and those who could only use them in some of the target verbs. Therefore, the hypothesis regarding difficulty of *ni* passives, especially for the Control group (Hypothesis 1), has been supported, and additionally, some difficulty experienced by the Experimental group has been observed.

Research Question 3

Does teaching ni passives in terms of 'affectivity' lead to more successful production of these forms than teaching DPs as neutral and PPs and Vi passives as adversative?

The main aim of this study is to empirically prove the theoretical argument that it should be more efficient and more effective to teach Japanese *ni* passives in terms of a single core notion of 'affectivity', rather than teaching the dichotomy of direct and indirect passives with the former as neutral and the latter as adversative. This aim has been achieved and Hypotheses 3a & 3b have been supported, in that more learners in the Experimental group used *ni* passives in both tests, and to a larger extent than those in the Control group, especially in Posttest 2, displaying a faster pace of learning and higher levels of accuracy. The poorer performance of the Control group indicates that teaching multiple types of *ni* passives is not as effective as the method adopted for the Experimental group. This may have been caused partly by the lack of efficiency of this dichotomous approach. Also, the exclusive use by the learners in the Experimental group of the appropriate *ni* passives in positive contexts in Posttest 2⁶⁰ supports the claim that the general nature of the

⁶⁰ As I mentioned in footnote 38, some of the learners in the Control group produced the passive verb *home-rare-ru* (praise-Pass-Nonpast) with incorrect particles. However, their lack of accuracy in the use of

notion of 'affectivity' and its applicability to wider contexts (both positive and negative) assists learning. This means that the differentiation made in the instructional treatment resulted in qualitative difference in the learners' performance. Overall, the answer to Research Question 3 is shown to be 'Yes'.

Research Question 4

*Are there certain forms that the learners produce that can be regarded as intermediate forms in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives and how can the production of these forms be explained in cognitive terms?*

In examining the learners' utterances, it became clear that the switch from the use of the active to the *ni* passive can be a slow process. It was found that the learners' tendency to continue to treat the agent as the grammatical subject (or the topic) (the 'First Noun Principle in Production') was persistent, confirming the findings of previous studies (Tanaka 1999a, 1999b, 2004) and Hypothesis 4a. Additionally, forms such as those with a passive verb and the possessor separately encoded from the patient in the PP items, and *Ag-*de* (by/due to) P-*o* (Acc) A for the PP with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) were found to be possible intermediate forms in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives (Hypothesis 4a). Since these forms were exclusively produced by the learners in the Experimental group (see also footnote 50), they may be presumed to have resulted from the instructional treatment (Hypothesis 3a). Intermediate forms reflect conceptualisation of the event by the learner. Thus, the persistent tendency of marking the agent as the grammatical subject is caused by the conceptualisation of the event as a transfer of energy from the agent to the patient as a result of the agent attracting learners' attention, since this is where the action originates. This also means that the *de* or *ni* marking of the agent is a move away from the conceptualisation of the event as an active. The appearance of the 'separate possessor' in the PP items reflects the conceptualisation of the event as **something that has happened to the possessor rather than to the patient** that has received physical impact (or transfer of energy), and thus can be regarded as improvement. Importantly, these forms with the 'separate possessor' with a passive verb can function as a bridge between ungrammatical and grammatical *ni* passives in the

particles again indicates slower pace of learning of these learners compared to the five learners in the Experimental group who used this verb with correct particles.

manner I have described in Sections 6-1 and 6-2. In these cases, the possession of metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive' or the explicit associations between 'affective' situations and the use of *ni* passives can provide a shortcut by encouraging learners to use these forms. Metalinguistic knowledge of the 'affectivity' meaning of *ni* passives can motivate them to make use of the forms that describe the events as 'affective'. However, unless learners consider **to whom** the events were 'affective', errors in particles occur and this can be a persistent problem, as we have seen. For those learners who produced errors in the use of particles, as well as those who could not use *ni* passives at all, repeated instruction may have been necessary.

One of the major findings of the present study is that provision of negative evidence regarding the deviant use of the DP for the PP items, which was regarded as an intermediate form in the process of learning by Tanaka (e.g., 2000, 2004, 2005a), successfully led to substantial reduction of the appearances of this form (Hypothesis 4c). This is particularly interesting since many learners in Tanaka's studies were observed to fossilise or stabilise at this stage.

From the above observations, it can be said, in answering Research Question 4, that forms such as *Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*ni* (to) Pass, *Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) P-*o* (Acc) Pass, *Ag-*wa* (Top)/-*ga* (Nom) Pass, *Ag-*de* (by/due to) A and *Poss (encoded separately from P) + Pass can be regarded as intermediate forms that appear in the course of learning, and that these forms reflect conceptualisation of the event. Additionally, it was found that the intermediate form of the use of the DP instead of the PP, which was commonly observed in the previous studies, was successfully avoided by provision of negative evidence.

Research Question 5

Is long-term retention of the use of *ni* passives possible?

The findings of the experiments indicate that those learners who succeeded in establishing the form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives, reflected in metalinguistic comments discussed in Section 5, or those who stated the need to encode the 'affectivity' meaning in their utterances, achieved some success in production. It seems that the semantic impact and communicative function of *ni* passives had positive effects on learning, as predicted. Also, those learners with

metalinguistic knowledge mentioned above were more successful in retaining their ability to produce passives (Hypothesis 5a). On the other hand, those learners who did not exhibit signs of possession of metalinguistic knowledge showed little or no improvement in the use of *ni* passives and its retention, supporting Hypothesis 5b⁶¹. This further provides support to the claim regarding the positive effects of the possession of metalinguistic knowledge regarding *ni* passives.

One of the phenomena that the results from Posttest 2 have confirmed is individual differences in retaining as well as learning *ni* passives. Some of the learners used some of the *ni* passives in Posttest 1 and extended their uses to more situations in Posttest 2, and sometimes continued to produce *ni* passives in their fourth year, although only a limited amount of data were examined from Year 4. Other learners used some of the *ni* passive forms in Posttest 1 but not (or less) in Posttest 2. Yet others only produced them in Posttest 2. The individual differences in achieving success in the production of *ni* passives seem to have been caused by difference in the timing of establishing the form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives, or of utilising such knowledge. It is also possible that the learners realised the necessity of encoding the 'affective' meaning via the *ni* passive forms at different times.

Although it cannot be claimed that the retention of the use of *ni* passives in Posttest 2 and in Year 4 is uniquely related to the instructional treatment, given the long period of time between the two, it was found that the explicit knowledge that some of the learners exhibited in Posttest 2 had the same content as what was provided in the instructional treatment, and that such knowledge resulted in some success (Experimental group) or mostly partial success (Control group) in the production of *ni* passives. In this sense, it can be said that the kind of the explicit knowledge provided in the instructional treatment was useful in learning and, if this knowledge resulted from instruction, its effect was robust and long-lasting. The continued use of *ni* passives by some of the learners in Year 4, and particularly in spontaneous speech is intriguing and contrasts with Tanaka's (1996) finding (on the basis of a small number of subjects) that JSL learners could not retain the use of the PPs on their return to the JFL environment.

⁶¹ Although it cannot be proven that for these learners *ni* passives had no impact, it is likely that any impact they may have had was not strong enough to lead to learning.

Research Question 6

What factors affect learning of *ni* passives?

I have listed some of the factors affecting learning *ni* passives as instruction (see Research Question 3 above); awareness at the level of understanding and metalinguistic knowledge; knowledge of L1 and/or L2; motivation to use *ni* passives (general ability to encode feelings) and exposure. I further stated that metalinguistic knowledge played a crucial role in learning in this study. To start with the issue of exposure, it can be said that Hypothesis 6d was partially supported in that some of the learners (almost exclusively in the Experimental group) produced *ni* passives more fluently with generally fewer self-corrections and hesitation after having had contact with the TL community. Exposure seems to have triggered production of *ni* passives by providing further input and evidence to confirm their hypotheses that *ni* passives are used for 'affective' (Experimental group) or adversative (Control group) situations, and opportunities to use them. On the other hand, for most learners in the Control group and some in the Experimental group, exposure of up to six months did not generally assist learning *ni* passives in that many learners (especially in the Control group) continued to produce actives, only used passive verbs or particles, or backslided from partial use of *ni* passives in Posttest 1, to the use of actives in Posttest 2. It may be the case that having knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, and the motivation to use them, prior to the departure for Japan may be necessary or at least is beneficial for learners to learn to produce them, as I have pointed out in Section 4-5.

Instruction that was designed to encourage the form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives was proven to be beneficial for both groups of learners, in that those who displayed metalinguistic knowledge provided in the instructional treatment (i.e., the adversity meaning for the Control group, and 'affectivity' meaning for the Experimental group) showed at least some improvement. This supports Hypothesis 6a. Since the Experimental group outperformed the Control group, it can be said that teaching *ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity' was more useful than teaching PPs and Vi passives as adversative and DPs as neutral, as mentioned above in answering Research Question 3.

One learner in the Experimental group made use of his/her metalinguistic knowledge regarding the victim and affective meanings of the dative construction of

his/her L2 French. This means that the availability of a construction in his/her L2 that has semantic similarity to Japanese PPs led to its association with PPs, mediated by metalinguistic knowledge. It was also suggested that knowledge of German dative construction may have also had a similar effect. This means that Hypothesis 6b has been supported, with the modification that the similarity between constructions may be semantic. On the other hand, Chinese NSs showed some evidence of negative transfer and one learner used the DP for a PP situation, and another overused *ni* passives, confirming the observations made in the previous studies.

Indeed, metalinguistic knowledge was found to play an important role in learning in both groups. The learners in the Experimental group who explicitly stated the affective meaning of *ni* passives achieved at least some success in producing these passives appropriately and all the three learners in the Control group who stated the adversity meaning of *ni* passives achieved limited success and produced them mostly with incorrect particles. However, they did not succeed in producing *ni* passives appropriately in positive contexts as mentioned above. This is not surprising since it is the notion of 'affectivity', and not adversity, that can be successfully applied to positive situations. What is striking is the fact that these learners applied the notion of adversity to the DP items despite the fact that DPs were taught as semantically neutral. They seem to have formed their own hypotheses about the applicability of the use of *ni* passives and tried them on the situations that were presented as having 'affected' them in negative ways. This led to the use of passives in situations for which the NSs showed preference for *ni* passives, including the DP situations.

Some of the learners in the Experimental group exhibited metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive', if not accompanied by a description of its meanings, and produced passive constructions or passive verbs with incorrect particles. This means that they had explicit associations between certain 'affective' situations and the use of passive constructions or verbs, and such associations assisted learning in that these learners used at least passive verbs, which reflects their attempts to produce passive constructions.

Both the metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings and function of *ni* passives, and the term 'passive' (or associations between 'affective' situations and the use of

passive forms) are types of analysed knowledge (Bialystok e.g., 1981, 1982, 1991, 1994a, 1994b). What is very interesting about the findings of this study is the contrast in the level of success between those learners who had stateable metalinguistic knowledge, as mentioned above, and those who did not. The former achieved at least some success and the latter hardly made any improvement. This phenomenon suggests advantage of possessing explicit (metalinguistic) knowledge in learning to produce *ni* passives for some of the learners. The learners were guided to analyse the structures of *ni* passive forms to encourage intake (Gass 1988, 1997), resulting in successful form-meaning and function connections between the 'affectivity' meaning and *ni* passive forms, which can assist the integration of these forms into their linguistic systems. Also, having the explicit associations between the 'affectivity' meaning and *ni* passive forms provided learners with confidence that the use of these forms would be appropriate for 'affective' situations. Knowing what *ni* passives can do (that is, encode the 'affectivity' meaning) also motivated the use of these forms by confirming why they are appropriate (Hypothesis 6c). Additionally, it was found, on the basis of the results from the use of *te simau* (regrettably), that it may be the learners' general ability to encode their feelings in their utterances that played an important role in the production of *ni* passives, motivating them to use these forms to encode 'affective' (Experimental group) or adversative (Control group) meaning. The small number of learners who produced passive verbs without clear reason or motivation (such as ConC/E2 and ExGu/E6) must have also noticed these verbs in input at a lower level of awareness, but the possible lack of higher level of awareness at the level of understanding (Schmidt e.g., 1990, 1995), or at least further structural analysis, did not lead to robustness of the use of *ni* passives in this study, in that they reverted to actives or the subsequent learning did not occur.

The claim regarding the positive effects of providing metalinguistic knowledge in instruction was also supported by the general success of the learners in the Experimental group in avoiding the use of DPs⁶² such as

- (49) ?*Watasi-no asi-ga tonari-no hito-ni hum-are-ta*
 my foot-Nom person next to me-by step on-Pass-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by

⁶² There was only one occurrence of the DP used in place of the PP in the use of *humu* (to step on) in the Experimental group throughout the experimental period. See footnote 51 regarding the performance of the Control group.

this)

in place of PPs such as

- (50) *Watasi-wa tonari-no hito-ni asi-o hum-are-ta*
I-Top person next to me-by foot-Acc step on-Pass-Past
(I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by this).

Telling the learners that the DP in this case sounds deviant because it is the speaker rather than his/her foot alone that was 'affected' by this incident assists them in avoiding this construction by providing a shortcut in learning (Hypothesis 4c). Such negative evidence is not available in natural input (White 1991). Furthermore, the findings that many learners continued to use and even fossilised or stabilised at the stage of using the DP in place of PP (Tanaka 1999b, 2000, 2004, 2005a) indicate the significance of the findings of the present study, in which instructional treatment resulted in successful avoidance of this phenomenon. Thus, the factors mentioned in answer to Research Question 6 above were generally observed to influence learning, with metalinguistic knowledge playing an important role in the appropriate use of *ni* passives.

Having discussed the empirical findings regarding the learning of *ni* passives, one remaining question is the implications of these findings on teaching. I shall address this issue in the next and concluding chapter.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

1. The findings of this study and implications for teaching

This thesis has reviewed analyses of Japanese *ni* passives, focusing on the distinction between the DP and the IP, which is most commonly adopted in both theoretical and pedagogical discussions of *ni* passives, and on controversial issues such as the classification of passives, and the origin of the adversity meaning. For JFL learners, the process of learning to produce *ni* passives can be long and effortful. The present study was conducted to investigate if there is a way to assist learners to achieve success in the use of *ni* passives. Based on the available literature, as well as on pedagogical experience, the hypothesis was formed that simplifying input by reducing the meanings of *ni* passives to a single notion of 'affectivity' should be more efficient and effective than teaching DPs and IPs as having different meanings. This hypothesis has been broadly supported in this study. The claim has also been examined that provision of explicit, analysed knowledge (Bialystok e.g., 1981, 1982, 1991, 1994a, 1994b) regarding the meanings and function of *ni* passives should allow for structural rather than semantic analysis that is expected to be useful in the process of learning (Gass 1988, 1997); and this has also been proven to be correct for at least some of the learners. For such learners, supporting evidence for their structural analysis could be found in the metalinguistic comments they made, including that *ni* passives encode the meaning of 'affectivity' or affectdness or adversity, and that the form they are using or had used is the passive, as well as in their comments on the necessity of encoding feelings in one's utterances via linguistic forms.

This study has also confirmed that *ni* passives are learned gradually. In both Posttest 1 and Posttest 2, some of the learners used active particles, and encoded or attempted to encode the 'affectivity' meaning via a passive verbal form, which was treated as meaningful. Some of the others used passive or passive-like particles with active verbs, showing signs of overcoming the reliance on the 'First Noun Principle in Production'. In both cases, the learners could not pay attention to both the use of particles and verbal forms at the same time. Grammatically correct production of *ni* passives may therefore be difficult at earlier stages of learning.

What then does it mean to succeed in learning to produce *ni* passives? As we have

seen, some of the learners (almost exclusively in the Experimental group) were initially only successful in producing appropriate *ni* passives that appeared frequently in the input, but were unable to use others, in Posttest 1. Later on, in Posttest 2, more learners were observed to produce *ni* passives with a wider range of verbs, possibly as a result of the exposure to the TL in Japan. It is also possible that these learners learned to apply the underlying notion such as 'affectivity' to a wide range of 'affective' situations.

Indeed, this may be what happened to the learner ExE4 in Posttest 1, who used (or attempted to use) *ni* passives¹ extensively, including the ones that appeared less frequently in the input. Interestingly, the presence of the underlying notion (such as 'affectivity') is evident in cases of overgeneralisation, in which a learner applies a rule (or a notion) to a verb or context for which NSs do not use the *ni* passive. For instance, ExE4 stated

- (1) **syukudai-o* *wasa-rare-sase-masi-ta*
 homework-Acc *forget-Pass-Caus-Polite-Past

in explaining that s/he had forgotten to do the homework. Although the use of *te simau* (regrettably) in *wasurete simaimasita* (regrettably, I forgot) would have been more appropriate, it seems that ExE4 was trying to extend the application of the use of the *ni* passive, which s/he used for 'affective' situations, to *wasureru* (to forget) via the ungrammatical passive + causative verbal form. *Wasureru* may have been regarded as 'affective' because the act of forgetting can induce a feeling of guilt, etc. Cases of overgeneralisation are interesting, in that they show the application of the notion associated with *ni* passives to the verbs or situations for which NSs do not use these forms, and therefore there are no occurrences of these forms in input. However, this phenomenon needs to be referred to further studies, because only two such cases² have been observed in the present one.

I consider the eventual success in learning to produce *ni* passives as the ability to apply the use of these forms to a number of different and appropriate situations and communicate (if the speaker wishes) the information that s/he (or the grammatical

¹ This learner showed confusion over the passive and causative verbal forms and referred to the latter as the passive. Importantly, this means that s/he intended to use *ni* passives.

² The other case of overgeneralisation was observed in the use of **kenkasi-rare-masi-ta* (have a fight-Pass-Polite-Past) by the learner ExE5 in Posttest 1.

subject) has been 'affected' by the event. The finding of the present study is that this can be achieved by adopting the notion of 'affectivity'. However, unless learners associated 'affective' situations with the use of passive constructions rather than passive verbs alone, errors in particles occurred. The conclusion reached in this study is that the conceptualisation and description of an 'affective' event **from the point of view of the 'affected' person (as a reference point)** is important in encouraging the appropriate production of *ni* passives.

An explanation must be provided at this stage regarding those learners who could not produce *ni* passives at all in any of the experiments, or those who only showed limited success. What can be said about these learners is that repeated instruction may have assisted them in learning to produce *ni* passives successfully. The instructional treatment lasted for less than two hours altogether in the grammar class and the input session. Continued input and practice may have resulted in success in more learners, or higher levels of success for those learners who displayed partial or limited success (such as the use of passive verbs only, and short-term effects of instruction).

What are the implications of the findings of the present study for teaching *ni* passives? First, the performance of the Experimental group indicates the benefit of teaching all instances of *ni* passives in terms of a single notion of 'affectivity' or 'affectedness'. The poor performance of the Control group also suggests that it is not effective to teach multiple types of *ni* passives, with DPs as neutral and PPs and Vi passives as adversative.

Secondly, the present study suggests an important role of motivation in learning to use *ni* passives. Since the same situation (of theft, for instance) can be described in the active or the *ni* passive by grammatically well-formed sentences, while encoding different meanings, it is possible that some of the learners feel content with the former. If this happens, they may not feel the necessity to use or even to learn *ni* passives. Exposure to naturalistic use of Japanese in these conditions means that they may not learn these forms even after staying there for a year (as observed by Tanaka (e.g., 1996, 1999b, 2000) with regard to PPs, and Tanaka (2004) regarding the DP as well with English NSs), and possibly longer. I argued in Chapter 6, Sections 4-5 and 7 that this means that providing the knowledge regarding the meanings and function of *ni* passives prior to the Period/Year Abroad Programme is

likely to be beneficial for JFL learners. This is particularly true because this programme only allows the learners to stay in Japan for up to a year. It was found that one way to raise motivation to use *ni* passives seems to be the provision of explicit knowledge that *ni* passives can be used in describing 'affective' events, and non-use of these forms may sometimes result in giving the impression that one is being too objective and indifferent. Knowing this can also increase learner confidence in the use of these forms.

Thirdly, it was found in examining the use of *te simau* (regrettably) in relation to the production of *ni* passives, that it may be the learners' general ability to encode their feelings and affective stances via linguistic forms in their utterances that played an important role in learning to produce *ni* passives. In this sense, the input session that the learners in the present study, and especially those in the Experimental group, were provided with may have assisted them, by highlighting the emotional meanings that *ni* passives, *te simau* and benefactives encode. Re-introducing related linguistic forms as the ones mentioned above in terms of their common function may be beneficial and this can be done in a revision class, for instance.

Finally, teachers should be careful about the manner in which they react to learner errors. As we have seen, forms that contain active particles and a passive verb may be intermediate forms that some of the learners produce in the process of learning, and thus reflect on-going learning towards the production of *ni* passives. Therefore, these forms should not be dismissed outright without providing relevant feedback to the learner, simply because they are semantically discrepant from the situations at hand. It is clear that *Ag-wa/-ga P-ni Pass in

- (2) *Sensei-wa/-ga watasi-ni sikar-are-ta
 Teacher-Top/-Nom I-to scold-Pass-Past
 (?The teacher was scolded by me and was negatively 'affected' by this)

was not intended as meaning that it was the teacher who had a bad day. What this utterance indicates is the conceptualisation of the event as an action directed from the agent to the patient (transfer of energy) in Ag-wa (Top)/-ga (Nom) P-ni (to), which was (ungrammatically) combined with the passive verb, which, in turn, was used to encode the 'affectivity'/adversity meaning in some cases, or because the learner had an association between this 'affective' situation and the use of the

passive verb. Since it is likely to be an intermediate form that reflects one stage of learning to produce the *ni* passive, it should be treated as a sign of progress. Also, it would be beneficial if learners are guided to avoid the use of the DP for the PP situations such as

- (3) ?*Watasi-no asi-ga tonari-no hito-ni hum-are-ta*
 my foot-Nom person next to me-by step on-Pass-Past
 (?My foot was stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively 'affected' by this)

in the course of learning to produce PPs, since this form may be as far apart from the PP as the active is, as I pointed out in Chapter 6, Section 6-2. It was found that the provision of negative evidence (White 1991) that this form is inappropriate seems to have assisted the generally successful avoidance of this form in the present study.

What teachers should do is to try to direct the flow of learning towards the successful use of *ni* passives. This can be achieved by making it clear to learners that the use of the passive verb is indeed appropriate for an 'affective' situation, and telling them that they should also consider to whom this situation was 'affective'. This approach reflects the cognitive model of *ni* passives that I have described in this study. It can be detrimental to the learners if the teacher accepts the initial appearance of *Ag-ga* (Nom) in **Ag-ga* P-o (Acc) *sikar-are-ta* (scold-Pass-Past), for instance, and corrects the verbal form to the active, to match the marking of the agent with the verbal form. Although there is no available data showing the teacher's correction of **Ag-ga* (Nom) Pass to *Ag-ga* A, the following exchange (taken from Tanaka (1999e, p. 362, emphasis in the original)) shows acceptance of, or even encouragement for, using the active by the teacher (or an interviewer for the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI)) for a situation for which the DP would have been more appropriate:

Excerpt (4)

- 1 S: *Mosi otoko-no ko-ni denwa-ga, kakatte kitemo, moo sono hi-wa nagut-tari,*
 [if a boy calls me] on that day (emphasis) beat-and
 2 *naget-tari, ket-tari.*
 ?beat-and kick-and so on
 (which means: *Mosi otoko-no ko-kara denwa-ga kakatte kitara, sono hi-wa*
 if a boy calls me on that day
nagur-are-tari, ker-are-tari.)
 beat-Pass-and kick-Pass-and so on

(If a boy calls me, I get beaten and kicked and so on on that day.)

3 T: *Otoosan-ga?*

father-Nom

(Your father does? / Is it your father?)

4 S: *Iya, o, okaasan-ga.*

No, mother-Nom

(No, my mother does.)

5 T: *Okaasan-mo?*

(Your mother, too?)

Although Tanaka presents the above dialogue to show that the teacher's feedback is provided when 'who did what' is unclear, it is also interesting in terms of the teacher's reaction to an active utterance for a DP situation. That is, the teacher prompts another active utterance by saying '*Otoosan-ga?* (father-Nom)' in line 3. It must be emphasised, however, that the above was taken from an OPI, and the teacher's behaviour may have been affected by the test situation, in which feedback on and corrections of the learner's utterances are unlikely to occur. Having said that, it is possible that this kind of reaction is not idiosyncratic to the above teacher, but it is a common reaction by NSs to this kind of utterance. Acceptance of the active for situations like the above will not assist learners in moving away from the stage of relying on actives when *ni* passives are preferred by NSs. The situations like this can be used as practice to use *ni* passives appropriately, if the learner is made aware that the active is less appropriate than the passive and, given that such negative evidence is not available in natural input, explicit explanation is likely to be useful (White 1991).

2. Limitations and further studies

There are some inevitable limitations of the present study, partly caused by constraints of scale and time of a PhD thesis. The only available subjects were those who enrolled for the Japanese minor programmes at the University of Reading each year, and this limited the total number. This affects the degree of generalisability of the findings, as well as the possibility of controlling for learners' L1 and knowledge of other languages. Nevertheless, it has been possible to serve my intention to extract some of the phenomena that may illuminate crucial factors affecting the process of learning to produce *ni* passives. This can be regarded as a first step, and the findings of this study can be tested on larger samples of learners in the future.

This is particularly important, since there is some evidence in the present study of both positive and negative influence of L1 and other languages. In this respect, testing the possible facilitative role of semantic similarity between the French (and German) dative and the Japanese PP on a larger population is particularly important.

A further limitation of the present study is the number of the test items (or the verbs in relation to passive types). The findings indicate that it would be worthwhile to test a larger number of verbs, and it is necessary to test the production of *ni* passives with intransitive verbs. However, Tanaka (e.g., 1999a, 2004) points out that NSs do not use Vi passives as commonly as PPs, and it is necessary to first clarify when NSs use these passives. Furthermore, the use of *ni* passives in positive contexts was only tested for DPs, and the lack of test items to elicit PPs in positive contexts is another limitation of this study³. Since positive situations are likely to trigger benefactives as well as passives, I did not initially place enough emphasis on them. Also, as pointed out in Chapter 5, Section 2, Posttest 2 items triggered somewhat reduced production of *ni* passives by NSs. This may have also affected NNSs, limiting the opportunity to use the target forms. Improvement in methodology (i.e., using different pictures) may result in more use of *ni* passives by both NSs and NNSs.

Another important issue to note is the possible task-specific nature of the learners' performance. I adopted controlled oral picture description tasks (and prepared speeches in the Year 4), in an attempt to elicit learners' utterances as naturally as possible. However, it cannot be denied that these learners might have behaved differently in spontaneous speech or in written tests, for instance. This again raises the issue of generalisability of the findings of this study. However, as we have seen, some spontaneous use of *ni* passives especially with *nusumu/toru* (to steal) was observed in some of the learners in the Experimental group in Year 4. This study indicates the value of collecting more data involving other verbs from the learners' spontaneous speech. Also, the learner who previously stated the need to linguistically encode the meaning of 'affectivity' in Japanese (ExC(E)3) said that s/he did not know why s/he had used *ni* passives in Posttest 2, and confirmed that s/he was speaking without thinking. Learner ExC2, who produced *ni* passives in all but one target items, stated that s/he was thinking in Japanese when speaking in this language. The relationship between conscious and subconscious or spontaneous use

³ I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees of the BATJ Journal No. 7 for pointing this out to me.

of *ni* passives needs to be examined more closely.

One issue that has been highlighted in the analysis of data is the relationship between learners' general proficiency and the use of *ni* passives. The learners who showed evidence of success in producing appropriate *ni* passives, or signs of success, manifested in the use of passive verbs, particles or *te simau*, in Posttest 1 (ExE4 and ExC(E)3) had low general proficiency in the language. This raises the question of whether or not it is possible to learn and retain the use of *ni* passives when general proficiency is low. Although it may look possible for these learners at least to attempt to produce *ni* passives, if they are motivated to encode their feelings via these forms, it is still the case that productions of grammatically correct *ni* passives require the use of correct particles and verbal forms, which is likely to be influenced by learners' general proficiency. What is notable is the fact that learner ExC(E)3, who succeeded in the production of *ni* passives in Posttest 2, had also improved in his/her general proficiency by the time this test took place, whereas ExE4, who seemed to have lost his/her ability to use *ni* passives in Posttest 2, continued to display low general proficiency. On the other hand, it was also the case, as we have seen, that some of the learners in the Control group who ranked high in the Pretest (ConE6 and ConE7) showed little or no evidence of learning *ni* passives. This may mean that, whilst learning of *ni* passives requires a certain level of proficiency, as pointed out by Kajikawa (2002), learners with generally high proficiency may not be able to produce them if they do not feel the need to use them and are content with grammatical actives. Indeed, learner ConE7 commented in the fourth year that the use of passives reflects the viewpoint from which a description is made. Since the choice of viewpoint (or between the active and passive) is less likely to cause communication problems (unless errors in particles are made), compared to lack of encoded feelings and one's affective stance in one's utterances, this learner may not have been motivated to use or learn *ni* passives. These observations again point to the possibility that motivation is important in learning *ni* passives. Obviously, the relationship between general proficiency and the use of *ni* passives should be tested systematically, and in this sense, the administration of a general proficiency test for all the learners at the times of Posttest 1, Posttest 2 and the Year 4 tasks would have improved the method of the present study.

What I must emphasise is the need to study the issue of whether or not

form-meaning and function connections for *ni* passives that were found to be useful in the present study can be achieved via implicit instruction or in the context of Focus on Form (see Chapter 1, Section 1-3). Given that the notion of 'affectivity' has been found to be more helpful than that of adversity for PPs and Vi passives, and neutrality for DPs in learning *ni* passives, and thus the question of **what** to notice has been answered, the next question is **how** this notion can be brought to learners' attention. In the present study, awareness at the level of understanding (Schmidt e.g., 1990, 1995), reflected in declarative/metalinguistic knowledge, was found to be more useful than awareness at the level of noticing, confirming studies conducted by Leow (1997, 2001), Robinson (1995a), Rosa & Leow (2004) and Rosa & O'Neill (1999). However, the issue of whether learning of *ni* passives without explicit grammar explanation is possible needs to be tested empirically in future studies. Also, it is necessary to further examine the developmental sequences for *ni* passives. The occurrences of possible intermediate forms proposed in the present study need to be re-examined on larger samples of learners and ranked for the possible order of learning in consideration of learning context (e.g., instructed or naturalistic).

Finally, there were accidents and mistakes that occurred during the experiments. These include a technical problem with the tape recorder (see Note i below Table 4-1 in Chapter 5, Section 4-2-1), interruptions during the experiments, such as having to move to another room (see, for instance, the transcripts of ConE5 in Posttest 2 in Appendix D), availability of one subject (see Note ii below Table 4-1 in Chapter 5, Section 4-2-1), necessity to drop a few test items from the experiments or analysis (see footnote 1 in Section 2-1, Note iii below Table 3 in Chapter 4, Sections 2-3-1, Note iv below Table 4 in Chapter 4, Sections 2-4-1, Chapter 4, Section 3-1) and the lack of full appreciation of the necessity of eliciting more metalinguistic comments (see, for instance, Chapter 6, Section 2-3). While some of these problems reflect authentic learning situations, they should be avoided in future studies.

On the positive side, the transcription method I have devised may be useful for future studies that examine issues such as hesitation and tone of voice. Also, the small numbers of the subjects I have studied allowed for detailed analysis of their performance. Furthermore, the fact that they were my students, and stayed in the same class in the UK throughout the experimental period, made it easier to control the input as much as possible and to plan and conduct the experiments smoothly.

These students were in an authentic learning environment, and therefore the findings of the present study are encouraging for learners in a similar environment. The findings are also likely to throw some light on the previously unexplored issue of effective teaching of *ni* passives, which are constructions most learners seem to find difficult, as well as roles of explicit instruction examined in a longitudinal study.

3. Conclusion

The findings of the present study are promising for JFL learners, especially those who have only a limited amount of exposure to the TL and therefore rely heavily on classroom instruction. This is particularly significant because many learners were observed to have problems with *ni* passives in previous studies. Despite the claims made by Tanaka (2005b) and Noda (2005) that it is of no use to teach *Vi* passives (Tanaka) or passives (Noda) to beginners, the present study indicates that it is possible for at least some of the learners to learn to produce *ni* passives (or at least DPs and PPs, which were the focus of this study), and sometimes to retain this ability for an extended period of time, if they are provided with the assistance of carefully designed instruction (see also Kikuchi 2007); my intention in this study has been to propose one detailed example of such a pedagogical treatment.

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Appendix A: Sample of Pictures Used in the Experiments

(Picture Y2E2-12 is taken from Furukawa (2006, p. 16) and Picture 4 Y3-4, from Furukawa (2008, p. 384).)

Posttest 1

Y2E2-9

earlier

you

odd shoes
(shoes from different pairs)

your friend
Tim

Ha Ha Ha...

vocabulary 奇っ怪
add shoes ... 左右ちがうくつ
to wear (shoes) ... はく

Describe this situation to your close friend, Ken using
わらう ... to laugh
(group 1)

Y2E2-12

earlier on a train

hurts

you

earlier on a train

Ouch!

the person you
next to you

Vocabulary
the person next to me ... 隣のひと
to hurt ... いたい

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
ふみ ... to step on


Posttest 2

4 Y3-4


yesterday

came home at 2 A.M.

↓



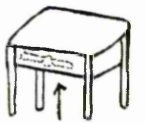
you




angry
your father

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
しかる ... to scold, to tell off
(group 1)

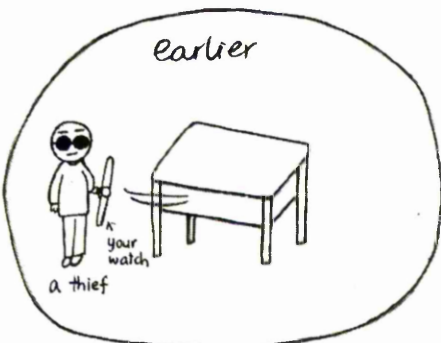
3 Y3-3



your watch
in the drawer
missing!



you



earlier

a thief

your watch

Vocabulary
a thief ... 盗人 (どろぼう)

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
ぬすむ ... to steal or 盗る ... to steal
(group 1)

Appendix B: Abbreviations Used in the Transcripts

A: active

CT: clearing throat

Dat: dative

DP: direct passive

be DP: be direct passive (e.g., I was scolded by my father.)

get DP: get direct passive (e.g., I got scolded by my father.)

E: said with an emphasis (end of word)

F: said fast

H: said with hesitation

HG: said with a high tone

I: interviewer

L: laughter

L: said with a laughter

MM: metalinguistic knowledge of the meaning(s) of the *ni* passive

MT: metalinguistic knowledge of the term 'passive'

Q: said quietly

Pass: passive

R: said with a rising tone (end of word)

SE: said with a slight emphasis (end of word)

SF: said slightly fast

SH: said with slight hesitation

SHG: said with a slightly high tone

SL: said slowly

SQ: said slightly quietly

SR: said with a slightly rising tone (end of word)

SSL: said slightly slowly

VF: said very fast

WH: said in whisper

[[?]A/B]: either A or B

Example: [[?]oh/-o]: unclear between 'oh' and '-o'

[[?]part of utterance]: may not be correct due to difficulty in retrieving the recording

Example: [[?]desu ne.]: sounds like 'desu ne' but unclear

[[?]...]: unrecoverable

Word(s) in (): almost inaudible and not entirely clear

(Number): pause in seconds (minimum: one second)

(1): pause in the range of 1.0-1.9 seconds

(2): pause in the range of 2.0-2.9 seconds

(3): pause in the range of 3.0-3.9 seconds etc.

, (normally used within a verb): a brief break but less than one second

Grey shades: overlap

Example: Learner: *Aa*.

I: *Siranai hito.*

Overlap of learner's 'a' and the interviewer's 'Sira'.

Combinations of the above

Example: Learner: *Emily-ni* (1) [^{SQ&H}*wa*[?]&^{SL}*re* (R)]

I: *Emily*

A pause of 1.0-1.9 seconds after 'Emily-ni', followed by 'wa' said slightly quietly and with hesitation, followed by what sounded like 're', but unclear, said slowly and with a rising tone at the end, and an overlap of learner's 'ware' and the interviewer's 'Emily'.

[...]: my interpretation of the learner's utterance when it contains grammatical error(s) but is nevertheless interpretable

Example: **Kanasii desi-ta* (sad-Cop-*Past) instead of *kanasikat-ta desu*
(sad-Past-Cop) represented as 'I [was sad]'.

Appendix C: Codes for Subjects

C: Chinese speaker (Mandarin, Cantonese and Shanghainese are referred to as Chinese)

Con: Control group

E: English speaker

Ex: Experimental group

Fr: French speaker

Ger: German speaker

Gu: Gujarati speaker

A/B: Bilingual in language A and language B (e.g., C/E: bilingual in Chinese and English)

A(B): language A as L1 and language B as L2 (e.g., E(Fr): English=L1, French=L2)

Examples:

ExE5: learner No. 5 in the experimental group, who is a native speaker of English

ConC/E1: learner No. 1 in the control group, who is bilingual in Chinese and English

ConGer(E)4: learner No. 4 in the control group, who speaks German as L1 and English as L2

Appendix D: Sample of Transcripts

The following learners have been selected as a sample for the reasons mentioned below:

Control group:

ConGer(E)4 (Posttest 1), who is the only learner in the group who produced a *ni* passive in Posttest 1;

ConC/E1 (Posttest 2), who is the only learner in the group who produced *ni* passives (combined with *te simau*) in Posttest 2;

ConE5 (Posttests 1 & 2), who produced intermediate forms in both tests, with much improvement in Posttest 2;

ConE7 (Posttests 1 & 2), who used actives across the test items in both tests

Experimental group:

ExE2 (Posttests 1 & 2), who used *ni* passives with only a few test items in Posttest 1, and with all the items in Posttest 2;

ExE(Fr)7 (Posttests 1 & 2), who used actives only in Posttest 1 and *ni* passives widely in Posttest 2;

ExE10 (Posttests 1 & 2), who used *ni* passives with some of the test items in Posttest 1, and actives across the items in Posttest 2

ConGer(E)4
Posttest 1

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConGer(E)4: *Densya-de* (1) ^Qer *saihu* um (1) *suri* ^Qer I don't know. (1) ^QEr. (5)
on a train purse pickpocket
^{SH}*Suri*^H-*ni* (R) *nn* *saihu-o* um. (1) ^{WH}How do you say ^Qstolen? (1)
pickpocket-by mm purse-Acc
^QUm. (1) ^QAh OK *tor-u* er *tot-te simai-masi-ta*.
steal-Nonpast steal-regrettably-Polite-Past

English: A
German: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConGer(E)4: *Mike-san-wa* (SR) er *watasi-ni* (SR) ah *watasi-ga watasi-ga* er *kakkoi da to*
Mike-Top I-to that I'm [good-looking]
ii-masi-ta.
say-Polite-Past

English: A
German: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ConGer(E)4: *Emliy-san-wa* (SE) (1) er (1) *watasi-ni* (SR) er *kireida to*
Emily-Top I-to that [she doesn't like me]
ii-masi-ta.
say-Polite-Past

English: A
German: A

Warau (to laugh)

ConGer(E)4: *Watasi-wa* (SR) *sayuu tigau kutu-o* um *hakimasita kara* (1) er *Tim-san-wa a*
because I wore an odd pair of shoes Tim-Top er
Tim er *Tim-san*

I: ^QNn. (Mm.)

ConGer(E)4: (1) yeah (2) ^Qer um (1) yeah *Tim-san-ga* (E) (1) um (2) ^H*warai*^{H&HG}-*masi-ta*
Tim-Nom laugh-Polite-Past

(R).

English: A
German: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConGer(E)4: *Syukudai-o wasurumasita kara* (1) er ^{SH&SL}*sensei* (2) um ^{SH&Q}*-ni* (SR) (1)
because I [forgot] to do my homework teacher-by
^H*sikar-are*^{H&HG}-*masi-ta* (R).
scold-Pass-Polite-Past

English: be DP
German: Invalid (The target verb was not used.)

Humu (to step on)

ConGer(E)4: Err *densya-de* (1) *tonari-no hito-wa* (SE) um (2) *wata*^{SH} *sii-no asii^H-ni* (SR)

on a train person next to me-Top my foot-to

^{WH}*hu,* *hum-ari-masi-ta.*

step on-*Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

German: A

Yomu (to read) (speaking to a close friend) (dropped item)

While producing his/her utterance, ConGer(E)4 states that there is a way you sound annoyed (MM), and uses the PP correctly (see Chapter 6, Excerpt 35).

ConC/E1
Posttest 2

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConC/E1: *Tokei-ga itumo hi(ki)dasi naka-ni n? doo nani otte imasu ga, sakki (1) etto*
the watch [was] always [in the drawer] earlier well
doroboo (3) -ga (E) watasi-no tokei-o (SR) ettoo nnnn L (1) ee (5) ee (6) nn
thief-Nom my watch-Acc well mmmm er er mm
(3) *nusun-da to omoimasu.*
steal-Past that I think

English: A
Chinese: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConC/E1: *Kinoo watasi-wa (n)to nn 2-zi um -ni eeto uti-e kaerimasita node (1) otoosan (3)*
because I came home at 2AM yesterday father
eeto (1) otoosan (2) -ni (E) L sikar-e, (1) ^{H&SL}sikar-are (1) -te ^Fsimai-masi-ta.
well father-by scold-*Pass? scold-Pass-regrettably-PolitePast

English: be DP

Chinese: Pass (which ConC/E1 translates as 'I received my Dad's scolding')

Later at the end of the experiment:

ConC/E1 states that s/he used *otoosan-ni *sikar-e-te simai-masi-ta* (father-by scold-*Pass-regrettably-Polite-Past).

...

When confirming the form *sikarete simaimasita*, ConC/E1 states 'It is a description to third person and in (1) um (1) to express um (1) [something you're not happy with (R)]' (MM).

...

I confirms which part expresses 'you're not happy about what happened', and asks for the form for 'unhappy'.

ConC/E1 refers to the passive as the potential form (MT with the incorrect term).

Humu (to step on)

ConC/E1: *Ee sakki kooen-de (1) um siranai hito-ni ettoo te-o (R) (1) aa (3)*
earlier in a park stranger-by well hand-Acc er
^{SH}hum-ara (2) ^Hre. -te (SE) ^{SH}simai-masi-ta (SR).
step on-*Pass -regrettably-Polite-Past

I: [asks to do it again]. *Hu?* ((Step on)?)

ConC/E1: *Huu, nn.*

(step on) mm

ConC/E1 & I: L.

ConC/E1: ^HHuu (1) *m-are-te* ^{SF}simai-masi-ta.
step on-Pass-regrettably-Polite-past

English: A

Chinese: Pass (which ConC/E1 translates as 'I received someone stepping on my hand')

Later at the end of the experiment:

ConC/E1 refers to the passive as the potential form (MT with the incorrect term).

ConC/E1 states that his/her utterance was '[p]robably a description of something that happened and you're not happy about' (MM).

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)
 See Chapter 5, Excerpt 17
 English: A
 Chinese: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConC/E1: *Sakki Tom Tomu i to iu-no tomodati-ni* (1) um ^{Qe?} *om n? omoru*
 earlier friend [called] Tom-by mm? mm?
omosiroi to it-te i-masi-ta kara uresii desu.
 that I'm fun to be with say-Prog-Polite-Past because (of that) I'm happy

English: A
 Chinese: A

Homeru (to praise)

See Chapter 5, footnote 22

English: A
 Chinese: A

Tataku (to hit)

ConC/E1: *Sakkii Tim* (1) ^H*tomodatii* (R) (2) *-wa watasi* (1) *-ni* (E&SR) *nn?* (6) ^{Qe?}
 earlier Tim friend-Top I-to mm? mm?
^{WH}*ta*, *tatat-te simai* ^H*-masi-ta* (SR).
 *hit-regrettably-Polite-Past

English: A
 Chinese: Pass (which ConC/E1 translates as 'I received my friend Tim's hitting')

Warau (to laugh)

ConC/E1: *Watasi-no kao-o* (SE) *eeto yogorete* (4) ^{WH}*ssh* *ee* ^F*simemasita* *kara* (1) *eeto*
 because my [face] *regrettably got dirty well
Emily to iu-no tomodati (1) *-ni* (SE&SR) (1) *e?*
 friend [called] Emily-by mm?

I: L. L.

ConC/E1: *Sugoku muzukasii*. (This is very difficult.)

ConC/E1 or I: L.

I: *Nn*. (Mm.) *Emily?*

ConC/E1: *Er*

I: *Nn*.

ConC/E1: *Emily n?* (1) ^{Qee} *Emily to iu-no tomodati-ni* *nnn* (4) *e?* (1)
 mm? er friend [called] Emily-by mmm mm?
^H*warat* ^{H&HG}*-te simai-masi-ta* (R).
 laugh-regrettably-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: Pass (which ConC/E1 translates as 'I received my friend Emily's laughter')

ConE5
Posttest 1

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConE5: Er *densya-de* um (2) ^{H&Q}*doroboo* (R)? (1) ^P*Nok.*
on a train thief

I: *Nn. Doroboo.* (Mm. Thief.)

ConE5: *Doroboo* ^P*OK.*

I: ^P*Nn.*

ConE5: Um *doroboo-ga* er *saihu-o* er *tot-ta.*
thief-Nom purse-Acc steal-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConE5: *Tomodatii-ga* (SE&SR) er (2) *watasi-ni* (SR) um *hansamuna to*
friend-Nom I-to that I'm [handsome]
ii-masi-ta er *it-ta.*
say-Polite-Past say-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ConE5: *Tomodati-ga* (SR) er *watasi* oh *tomo* yeah *tomodati-ga* *watasi-ni* (SR) um er
friend-Nom I friend-Nom I-to
anata-ga kirai to (1) um (1) *i-u* ^{P&Q}*what* *it-ta* *node* (SR)
that 'I don't [like] you' say-Nonpast say-Past because (of
that)

I: ^P*Nn.* (Mm.)

ConE5: um ^P*is it* *kanasii*
I [was sad]

I: *Nn nn.*

ConE5: *desita.*

English: A

Warau (to laugh)

See Chapter 6, Excerpt 19

MT

English: A

Later when we came back to this item at the end of the experiment:

ConE5 refers to the passive subject as an innocent bystander and a victim (MM).

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConE5: *Watasi-wa syukudai-o* um *wasure wasureru node* (1) um (2) *sensei-ni* (SR) (7)
because I forget to do my homework teacher-by
sikat-te simai-masi-ta.
scold-regrettably-Polite-Past

English: A

Humu (to step on)

ConE5: *Densya-de* (SR) *tonari-no hito-wa* (SE&SR) er (4) *watatasi-no asi* (SR)
on a train person next to me-Top my foot

I: *Nn.* (Mm.)

ConE5: (1) *-de* (SR) um (2) *hun-da* (R)?
-by step on-Past

English: A

After the experiment:

ComE5 asks if any of the test items should have been described using the passive (MT).

Posttest 2

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConE5: *Kyoo* (1) *doroboo-ga* (1) *tokei-o* *-o* (R) (1) *musum-a,* no *tor-are,*
today thief-Nom watch-Acc steal-(Pass)
tor-are-ta.
steal-Pass-Past

English: get DP

Later when we came back to this item at the end of the experiment:

I: [asks what ConE5 said]. *Doroboo? Nn? Doroboo.* (1) *Nn.* (Thief? Mm? Thief. Mm.)

ConE5: *Watasi-no tokei-o.* Ah I said *tor-are, tor-are-tyat-ta.*
my watch-Acc steal-Pass-regrettably-Past

ComE5 says 'Stole my watch. What! I've forgotten the passive' (MT).

I confirms with ComE5 that '*torare*' is passive and '*tyatta*' means regret.

...

I confirms that *tyatta* means regret and asks for the meaning of *torare*.

ComE5 states 'So, unfortunately I had my watch stolen from, by a thief'.

I asks if it is 'regret' that ConE5 is expressing, or if there is any other meaning.

ComE5 says 'Well, annoyance' (MM).

I asks how ConE5 would express annoyance in English or in Japanese.

ComE5 states that s/he would probably just swear in English and say 'The bloody thief'.

I asks about Japanese.

ComE5 says that s/he would use '*te simaimasita* or *tyatta* or something'.

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConE5: Err *watasi-wa kinoo 2-zi* er *gozen 2-zi* um *uti-e uti-ni kaetta kara* (1) um
because I came home [at] 2AM yesterday
otoosan-wa watasi-ni sikar-are-ta.
father-Top I-to scold-Pass-Past

English: A

Humu (to step on)

See Chapter 5, Example 16 or Chapter 6, Example 48

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ConE5: Er *John to iu tomodati-wa watasi-ni anata-ga tumaranai to it-te ta.*
friend called John-Top I-to that 'You [are] boring' say-Prog-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConE5: *Tom to iu otomodati-wa er anata to anata to anata-ni ^{Qa} au towa tanosii to*
friend called Tom-Top that 'It's fun [to] see you'
^{SF}*it-te ta.*
say-Prog-Past

English: A

Homeru (to praise)

ConE5: *Otoosan-wa kinoo watasi-ni (1) um (3) ^Hhome-rare-ta.*
father-Top yesterday I-to praise-Pass-Past

English: A

Tataku (to hit)

ConE5: ^H*Tim Tim-wa um watasi-ni (2) ta, nn tata,k-are-ta (R).* No. (3)
Tim-Top I-to mm hit-Pass-Past

I: [asks if it is OK].

ConE5: *Tatakat-ta (SR).*
*hit-Past/*hit-*Pass-Past

ConE5&I: L.

I: [asks which is better].

ConE5: ^{SH}*Tata, tatak-are-ta.*
hit-Pass-Past

English: A

Moved to another room after this item.

Warau (to laugh)

ConE5: *Watasi-wa kao kao-de yogore-ga atta kara (1) Emily-wa watasi-ni ^{H&SL}wara,*
because there was a dirt [on] my face Emily-Top I-to
war-are-ta.
*laugh-Pass-Past

I: [asks to do it again]. *Wara?*

ConE5: ^{H&SL}*War-are-ta (R)?* L L.
*laugh-Pass-Past

I: *Warare, warareta?*

ConE5: *Nn. (Mm.) (1)*

ConE5 expresses uncertainty regarding the verbal form.

ConE5 mentions 'Passive' (MT) when requested to clarify the form.

ConE5 says that s/he had not heard of or used *warawareta* when asked.

English: A

When talking about the biggest difference between English & Japanese:

ComE5 states that it is 'easier to express regret in Japanese' because of the availability of *te simai-masi-ta* (regrettably-Polite-Past).

...

ComE5 gives an example of *wasuretyatta* (regrettably forgot) and says that s/he had picked up this expression from his/her 96-year old host grandmother who kept using this expression.

ConE7
Posttest 1

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConE7: ^QAd densya-de ^{WH}aa suri-wa saihu (3) -o (1) ^Htori-masi-ta (R).
er on a train er pickpocket-Top purse-Acc steal-Polite-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConE7: Mike-san-wa watasi-ni um um kakkoi to ^{SH}i-yu(i) (2) to
Mike-Top I-to that I'm good-looking say? that
ii-masi-ta.
say-Polite-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ConE7: Emily-san-wa watasi-ni ^Qer kiraina to (1) ii-masi-ta
Emily-Top I-to that [she doesn't like me] say-Polite-Past
kara
because (of that)

I: ^QNn. (Mm.)

ConE7: kanasii desu.
I'm sad.

English: A

Warau (to laugh)

ConE7: Tim-san-wa watasin (1) -no sayuu tigau kutu (3) ^H-ni (R) ^{H&SHG}warai-masi-ta
Tim-Top my odd pair of shoes-to laugh-Polite-Past
(SR).

English: A (ConE7 states 'laughed at my odd shoes'.)

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConE7: Watasi-wa syukudai-o suru no-wa wasuremasita kara sensei-wa (SE) (1)
because I forgot [to] do my homework teacher-Top
^Hwatasssi (2) -o (SR) sikari-mas-u (SR).
I-Acc scold-Polite-Nonpast

English: A

Humu (to step on)

ConE7: Densya-de (2) tonari-no hito-wa (1) um (3) L.
on a train person next to me-Top

I: ^QNn. (Mm.)

ConE7: ^QWhat's foot?

I: [provides *asi*].

ConE7: Um asi (1) -o ^Qum (3) um (5) ^{WH}huu. humi-masi-ta kara um
foot-Acc step on-Polite-Past because (of that)
asi-wa itai desu.
[my foot] hurts

English: A

Posttest 2

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ConE7: *Doroboo-wa tokei-o* (1) *um* (4) *nus*, (1) ^Hnusumi-masi, *nusun-da* (R).
thief-Top watch-Acc steal-Polite steal-Past

English: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ConE7: *Wata*^{WH}si *er watasi-wa kinoo um 2-zi-kan um kaerimas(i) kaetta kara um*
because I came home for two hours [at 2 AM]
titi-wa (1) ^{WH}er (1) ^Hshka,sh, ^{H&SL}sika ^{H&SL&WH}t-ta.
father-Top scold-Past

I: [asks to do it again].

I: *Titi-wa titi-wa* (father-Top father-Top)

ConE7: *Titi-wa*

father-Top

I: ^QNn. (Mm.)

ConE7: ^{WH}sika *sikat-ta.*
scold-Past

English: A

Humu (to step on)

ConE7: *Kesa-wa kooen-de onna-no hito-wa* (1) *watasi-no* ^Ete-o (1) *um* (2)
this morning in a park woman-Top my hand-Acc
^Hhun-da (SR).
step on-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ConE7: *Um John-san* (1) *-wa* (1) *um tsssumara watasi-ni tumaranai to*
John-Top (I'm boring) I-to that I'm boring
^{SH&SSL}it-ta (tape possibly damaged).
say-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ConE7: *Tom-san-wa o watasi-ni omosiroi to* ^{H&SL}it,-ta
Tom-Top I-to that I'm fun to be with say-Past
kara uresii desu.
because (of that) I'm happy

English: A

Homeru (to praise)

ConE7: *Watasi-wa*

I-Top

I: ^{WH}Hai. (Yes.)

ConE7: *um ziken watasi-no ziken-wa yokatta kara (1) titi-wa uresikatta.*
 [exam] because my [exam] results were good my father was happy
 I: [asks to use *homeru*].

ConE7: *Ano er titi-wa (2) home-ta.*
 well father-Top praise-Past
 English: A

Tataku (to hit)

ConE7: *Tim-san-wa watasi*
 Tim-Top I

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ConE7: (3) ^H*-o*

-Acc

I: ^{WH}*Ha(i).* (1) ^{WH}*Ha(i).* ((Yes). (Yes).)

ConE7: (4) *tata, ^{H&SL}kat, -ta* *kara kanasii desu.*
 *hit-Past because (of that) I'm sad

English: A

Warau (to laugh)

ConE7: *Watasi (5) watasi-wa yogoreta kara ^{WH}L, ^LEmily-san-ga warat^{SH}-ta.*
 because I got dirty Emily-Nom laugh-Past

English: A

Posttest 1 (Mandarin)

ExC2: *Densya-de* (1) so_{er} (2) *suri* (5) *sai saihu saihu* (3) *saihu-o* *tori-ni* (6)
on a train pickpocket purse-Acc [pickpocket]-by
su^{WH} ?&WH ri (9) *nusu, m-are, masi-ta* (SR).
pickpocket? steal-Pass-Polite-Past

Chinese: A

Mike-Top

ExC2: *kakkoii to* (1) *ii-masi-ta.*
that I'm good-looking say-Polite-Past

Chinese: A

ExC2: *Emily Emily-wa kiraina to* (1) *ii-masi-ta.*
Emily-Top that [she doesn't like me] say-Polite-Past

Chinese: A

ExC2: *Tim-wa watasi (1) watasi* H&Q-ni (SR) *(1) watasi-ni sai sayuu tigau kutu (1) -o haku*
 Tim-Top I-to that I wear an odd pair of
kotoo-o (3) warai-masi-ta.
 shoes laugh at-Polite-Past

Chinese: A

ExC2: *Sensei-wa* (1) *watasi-ni* *syukudai-o wasureru koto* (1) -o (SR) (4) *sikari-masi*
 teacher-Top I-to that I forget to do my homework-Acc scold-Polite
 -ta (R).
 -Past

Chinese: Invalid (The target verb was not used.)

on a train

ExC2 or I: $\boxed{\text{HG}} A.$

ExC2: *asi-o* (1) *tonari-no* (1) *hito* (2) *ari-no* (hi) *hitoo*. (5) *Densya-de* *watasi-no* (1) *asi*
 foot-Acc person next to me on a train my foot
 (2) *-o* (1) *tore tonari-no hito-ni* (8) *hum-are-masi-ta*.
 -Acc person next to me-by step on-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

When talking about the biggest difference between Japanese, English and Mandarin/Shanghainese:

ExC2 states 'In Chinese we don't really have like passives, I think. So we just add one word. Not, not change the verbs, I think' (MT).

Posttest 2 (Shanghainese)

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ExC2: *Watasi-wa doroboo-ni tokei-o* (7) *nusum-ere, e* (R)? *nusu*,
 I-Top thief-by watch-Acc steal-*Pass
nusum,m-are-masi-ta.
 steal-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ExC2: *Watasi-wa titi-ni* (3) ^{WH}*si*, *sikar-are-masi-ta*.
 I-Top father-by scold-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

Humu (to step on)

ExC2: *Watasi-no tee. Watasi-wa* (3) stranger?
 my hand I-Top

I: [provides *siranai hito* (stranger)].

ExC2: *Watasi-wa siranai hito-ni* (1) *te-o*
 I-Top stranger-by hand-Acc

I: ^R*Nn* (Mm.)

ExC2: (2) *hum-are-masi-ta*.
 step on-Pass-Polite-Past

English: be DP

Chinese: Pass (My hand was stepped on once by a stranger.)

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ExC2: ^{SH}*Watasi-wa John-ni* (SE) *tumaranai to iw-are-masi-ta*.
 I-Top John-by that I'm boring say-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ExC2: *Watasi-wa Tom (-ni)*

I-Top Tom(-by)

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExC2: *Tom-ni omosiroi to iw-are-masi-ta.*

Tom-by that I'm fun to be with say-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

Homeru (to praise)

ExC2: *Watasi-wa titi-ni (4) home-rare-masi-ta.*

I-Top father-by praise-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

Tataku (to hit)

ExC2: *Watasi-wa (1) Tim-ni (3) tarak-aare-masi-ta.*

I-Top Tim-by hit-Pass-Polite-Past

English: be DP

Chinese: Pass (I was hit by others [someone] once.)

Warau (to laugh)

ExC2: *Watasi-no kao-de yogore-o tuite masu kara Emily-wo (SE) (2) watas(i) e?*
because my face [had a dirt] Emily-(I?)/Acc? (I) mm?

wat Emily E Emily-ni wa (2) waraw-are-masi-ta.

(I) Emily-by laugh-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Chinese: A

When talking about *sikar-are-ru* (scold-Pass-Nonpast) at the end of the experiment:

I asks if ExC2 often heard the expression '*sikararemasita*' and ExC2 says s/he didn't.

...

I asks if ExC2 studied it in class or somewhere else. ExC2 is unsure if s/he had studied it in class, and says that s/he is not sure where s/he picked it up.

I asks if '*sikararemasita*' and '*homeraremasita*' were used often. ExC2 says that s/he often uses the latter.

...

I asked if ExC2 spoke without thinking and automatically (spontaneously). ExC2 says that s/he thinks in Japanese.

ExE(Fr)7**Posttest 1***Nusumu/toru* (to steal)

ExE(Fr)7: *Watasi-no saihu-wa* (R) um (1) ^{P&SH}*nusu/nesu* (1) *nu/ni*, ^{SH}*nusu-masi-ta* (R).
 my purse-Top ((*)steal) *steal-Polite-Past

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE(Fr)7: Um. *Suri-o* *nusu-masi-ta* (R) *tori-masi-ta*.
 pickpocket-Acc *steal-Polite-Past steal-Polite-Past

English: A

French: Pass (DP)

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ExE(Fr)7: *Mike-wa er kakkoi hakosssemuna* (1) er (4) *i-u*.
 Mike-Top [I'm good-looking] say-Nonpast

English: A

French: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ExE(Fr)7: Er *Emily-san kiran nai*. (3)
 Emily [she doesn't like me]

I: [asks to use *iu*].

ExE(Fr)7: Ah er (1) *Emily-san i-u kiranai?*
 Emily say-Nonpast [she doesn't like me]

English: A

French: A

Warau (to laugh)

ExE(Fr)7: *Tim-san* (SR) um *ssayuu tigau kutu*
 Tim an odd pair of shoes

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE(Fr)7: um (2) *wara-u i-mas-u* (R).
 *laugh-Polite-Nonpast/*laugh-*Prog-Polite-Nonpast

English: A

French: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ExE(Fr)7: *Sensei-wa watasi-no -o sikar-u* (R).
 teacher-Top I-Gen -Acc scold-Nonpast

English: A (The target verb was not used in the experiment and ExE(Fr)7 was asked to write down the answer in a follow-up session.)

French: Invalid (The target verb was not used.)

Humu (to step on)

ExE(Fr)7: ^{E/A}*tonari-no hito* (SR) um (2) *watasi-wa hum-u* (R).
 er person next to me I-Top step on-Nonpast

English: A

French: A

Posttest 2

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ExE(Fr)7: *Doroboo-ni watsi-no tokei-o nusum-are-masi-ta.*
 thief-by my watch-Acc steal-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A → be DP (when we came back to this item at the end of the experiment)

French: A: Dat (On m'a volé ma montre. (Literally: Someone to me stole my watch.))

Later when we came back to this item at the end of the experiment:

ExE(Fr)7 says that the French version (On ma volé ma montre) has an 'affective' or 'victim' meaning and that it sounds like the passive subject is a victim.

...

ExE(Fr)7 says that the English version 'My watch has been stolen' is 'more or less neutral' (without a victim meaning).

...

When asked about Japanese, ExE(Fr)7 says '*Nihongo* (1) ^{SL}is passive, probably, I think, it sounds ⁷a bit affective. Yeah' (MT & MM).

I asks if French and Japanese are similar and ExE(Fr)7 states that s/he thinks that 'on ma volé', or 'ma volé' is the equivalent of the Japanese passive form.

I asks if this is because it has the victim meaning and ExE(Fr)7 confirms.

I asks if it is also because of the affective meaning and ExE(Fr)7 confirms.

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ExE(Fr)7: *Kinoo osokute kaerimasita node aa okaasan aa (1) titi-wa*
 because I came home [late] yesterday er mother er father-Top
sikaari-masi-ta.
 scold-Polite-Past

I: ^{WH}Nn. (Mm.)

ExE(Fr)7: (3) *Sikari-te simai-masi-ta.*

*scold-regrettably-Polite-Past

English: A

French: Invalid (The target verb was not used.)

Humu (to step on)

ExE(Fr)7: *A siranai hito-ni aa watasi-no te hum-are-masi-ta.*
 er stranger-by er my hand step on-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

French: A: Dat (Dans le parc on m'a marché sur la main. (Literally: In the park someone to me walked/stepped on the hand.))

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ExE(Fr)7: ^{WH}Sss aa saiki John-san-wa aa (1) watasi-ni tumaranai
 er [earlier] John-Top er I-to [that] I'm a boring
 hito (1) -ni ii-masi-ta node watasi-wa kanasii ni narimasita.
 person-to say-Polite-Past because (of that) I became [sad]

English: A

French: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ExE(Fr)7: *Aa saikin Tom-san-wa* (SE) *-kara omosiroi hito a! watasi-wa*
er recently Tom-Top -from an interesting person Ah! I'm an
omosiroi hito-ga aa ii-masi-ta node uresii ni narimasita.
interesting person-Nom er say-Polite-Past because (of that) I became [happy]

English: A

French: A

Homeru (to praise)

ExE(Fr)7: *Watasi-wa otoosan-ni*
I-Top father-by

I: $\boxed{Nn.}$ (Mm.)

ExE(Fr)7: *aa home-rare-masi^H-ta (SR)* (1) *node uresii ni narimasita.*
er praise-Pass-Polite-Past because (of that) I became [happy]

English: be DP

French: Invalid (The target verb was not used.)

Tataku (to hit)

See Chapter 6, footnote 45

English: A

French: A

Warau (to laugh)

See Chapter 6, Excerpt 23

MT

ExE(Fr)7 states that s/he used the passive because it probably means '[to] receive' and '[to have an] effect' (MM).

English: A

French: A

ExE10
Posttest 1

Nusumu/toru (to steal)
 See Chapter 6, Excerpt 9
 English: be DP

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ExE10: *Kyoo* (1) *watasi-no tomoda*^{SL}*ti* (1) *Mike-san-wa* (R)
 today my [friend] Mike-Top

I: ^Q*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE10: *watasi-ni* (R) *um kirei*
 I-to that I'm pretty

I: ^{WH}*Nn.*

ExE10: ^H*da*

I: *Nn kireida.*

ExE10: *to it-ta.*
 say-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ExE10: *Kesa*
 this morning

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE10: *watasi-no tomoda*^{SL}*ti* *Emily-san-wa* (SR)
 my [friend] Emily-Top

I: *Nn.*

ExE10: *watasi-ni* (SR) *um suki zya nai to* *ii-masi-ta*
 I-to that she doesn't like me say-Polite-Past

I: *Nn.*

ExE10: *kara*
 because (of that)

I: ^Q*Nn.*

ExE10: *kanasii desu.*
 I'm sad

English: A

Warau (to laugh)

ExE10: ^H*Watasi-no tomoda*^{H&SL}*ti* (2) ^H*Tim-san-wa* (SR)
 my [friend] Tim-Top

I: ^Q*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE10: (1) ^{SH}*watasi-ni* (R)
 I-to

I: ^Q*Nn.*

ExE10: ^H*warai-masi-ta* (SR).
 laugh-Polite-Past

English: A

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)
 See Chapter 6, Example 10
 English: be DP

Humu (to step on)

ExE10: *Kesa densya-no naka-de tonari-no hito (1) -ni (E&R) watasi-no (1) asi-o (E&R)*
 this morning on a train person next to me-by my foot-Acc
 (1) *hum-are-masi-ta.*
 step on-Pass-Polite-Past

English: A

Wareru/waru (Speaking to the offender's wife) (dropped item)

ExE10 uses P-wa (Top) Ag-de (by/due to) *ware-te sima-u* (break: Vi-regrettably-Nonpast) to encode the accidental nature of the event.

Posttest 2

Nusumu/toru (to steal)

ExE10: *Watasi-no tokei-wa (R)*

my watch was

I: ?Nn/CT.

ExE10: *hikidasu-no naka-de atta kedo umm (2) kinoo*
 [in] the [drawer] but yesterday

I: ?Nn. (Mm.)

ExE10: *kinoo doroboo-ga (1) SH&Q tori, tori-masi-ta.*
 thief-Nom steal-Polite-Past

I: *Nn. Ii desu nee.* (That's OK.)

ExE10: *Tokei-o SO tori-masi-ta.*
 watch-Acc steal-Polite-Past

English: be DP

Sikaru (to scold/tell off)

ExE10: *Watasi-wa osoku kaetta kara (1) watasi-no titi-ga (SR) ?&WH to o, okotta.*
 because I came home late my father-Nom got angry

I: [asks to use *sikaru*].

ExE10: WH Si er *watasi-o (E) sikat-ta.*
 I-Acc scold-Past

English: A

Humu (to step on)

ExE10: *Kooen-de siranai hito-ga (SR) watasi-no te-o (SE&SR) hun-da.*
 in a park stranger-Nom my hand-Acc step on-Past

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (negative)

ExE10: *Watasi-wa* (1) *err watasi-no tomodati-ga* (SE) *watasi-ni* (SR) '*Anata-ga*
I-Top my friend-Nom I-to that 'You [are]
tumaranai' *tte* ^H*it, it-ta* *kara er kanasii desu.*
boring' say-Past because (of that) I'm sad

English: A

Iu (to say/tell) (positive)

ExE10: *Tom(o)* *watasi-no tomodati-wa* (SE&SR) *watasi-ni* (SR) *sugokuu nnn tanosii*
(friend) my friend-Top I-to that I'm great fun to be
tte it-ta kara uresii.
with say-Past because (of that) I'm happy

English: A

Homeru (to praise)

ExE10: *Kinoo um watasii-no siken-no kekka-wa yokatta kara*
yesterday because my exam results [were] good

I: ^{WH}*Nn.* (Mm.)

ExE10: ^{?&WH}*a* *watasi-no titi-ga watasi-o home-ta* (SR).
er? my father-Nom I-Acc praise-Past

English: A

Tataku (to hit)

ExE10: *Watasi-no tomodati-ga* (R) (1) *watasi-o* (SE&SR) (1) ^{SH}*tatai*^H-*ta* (SR).
my friend-Nom I-Acc hit-Past

English: A

Warau (to laugh)

ExE10: *Watasi-ga yogoreta node* (1) *um watasi-no tomodati-ga* (SR) *warat-ta.*
because I got dirty my friend-Nom laugh-Past

English: A

Yomu (Speaking to mother) (dropped item)

ExE10 produces the DP 'P-*ga* (Nom) Ag-*ni* (by) Pass' and refers to the verbal form as the passive (MT). S/he also translates it as '^P(It was) read' by my sister' and changes his/her initial utterance to P-*wa* (Top) Ag-*ni* (by) Pass.

Appendix E: Outline of Grammar Lesson with a Sample of Sentences

DPs

1A. *Neko-wa/-ga nezumi-o tabemasita.* (The cat ate the mouse.)

B. *Nezumi-wa/-ga neko-ni taberaremasita.* (Control group: The mouse was eaten by the cat; Experimental group: The mouse was eaten by the cat and was negatively affected by this.)

2A. *Sensei-wa watasi-o sikarimasita.* (The teacher scolded me (told me off).)

B. *Watasi-wa sensei-ni sikararemasita.* (Control group: I was scolded by the teacher; Experimental group: I was scolded by the teacher and was negatively affected (e.g., annoyed) by this.)

Control group:

The two pairs of sentences in 1 and 2 describe the same event from a different point of view with a different topic, that is, *neko* (cat) in 1A, *sensei* (teacher) in 2A, *nezumi* (mouse) in 1B and *watasi* (I) in 2B. This is the same as in the English active vs. passive.

Experimental group:

In the two pairs of sentences in 1 and 2, what happened is the same. However, unlike in English, A and B have different meanings. The differences between the two are not only where the spotlight/viewpoint is, or what the topic/subject is, but also in the meanings of these sentences.

PPs

3A. *Tonari-no hito/siranai hito-ga watasi-no asi-o humimasita.* (The person next to me/a stranger stepped on my foot.)

B. *Watasi-wa tonari-no hito/siranai hito-ni asi-o humaremasita.* (I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me/a stranger and was negatively/adversely affected by this.)

Control group:

3B is more natural in that it talks about the speaker and focuses on him/her. The passive structure like 3B has an adversity (negative) meaning.

Experimental group:

3B is better than 3A because the focus is on the person who experienced the event. This event is about what happened to the speaker. This person is the most important participant of the event. The passive 3B has the meaning that the speaker was negatively affected by (feel bad/annoyed about) the event.

Both groups were taught that focusing on *asi* (foot) rather than *watasi* (I) is strange. (This means that the DP used instead of the PP was taught as deviant.)

Vi Passives

Both groups were presented with instances of passives with intransitive verbs.

4A. *Yuki/ame-ga hurimasita*. (It snowed/rained.)

B. *Watasi-wa yuki/ame-ni huraremasita*. (It snowed/rained and I was negatively affected by this.)

Both groups were taught that 4B means 'It snowed/rained + I was annoyed/upset and affected (Experimental group) by this'. The use of the English preposition 'on' such as 'I was/got rained on', and 'My grandmother died on me' was discussed as an English example of a linguistic means of expressing negative meanings.

Passives with positive meanings

The verb *homeru* (to praise) was used as an example of the passive with a positive meaning. Positive passives (as PP) were treated as exceptions in teaching the learners in the Control group.

Communicative functions of *ni* passives

The learners were advised not to use passives with negative meanings (Control group) or (*ni*) passives (Experimental group) when it is better to hide their feelings, and to use them if they want to express their feelings of affectedness (Experimental group) or the adversity meaning (Control group).

Appendix F: Outline of Input Session

I. Explanation of benefactives, the *te simau* construction and *ni* passives

Situation: At a beauty salon, a hairdresser cut your hair short.

In English 'The hairdresser cut my hair short' is a possible sentence to describe this event.

Direct translation into Japanese (active):

1. *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kirimasita.*

(The hairdresser cut my hair short.)

Control group:

- 1 focuses on the hairdresser and describes what he did.

Experimental group:

- 1 is unnatural in Japanese because it sounds too objective for a description of something that happened to the speaker himself/herself.

After this, five example sentences were presented: the benefactive *te kureru* (to 'give' a favour of/do a favour by doing something), *te morau* (to receive a favour of doing something), the *te simau* construction (regrettably/unintentionally/unfortunately), the *ni* passive (negative affectedness) and the combination of the *ni* passive and *te simau* (meanings of both constructions), with reference to viewpoint.

2. *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kitte kuremasita.*

(The hairdresser 'gave' me a favour of cutting my hair short. The hairdresser cut my hair short 'for me'.)

3. *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kitte moraimasita.*

(I received the hairdresser's favour of cutting my hair short.)

4. *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kitte simaimasita.*

(Regrettably/unintentionally/unfortunately, the hairdresser cut my hair short.)

5. *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kiraremasita.*

(I had my hair cut short by the hairdresser and was affected badly/adversely by this.)

6. *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kirarete simaimasita.*

(Regrettably, I had my hair cut short by the hairdresser and was affected badly/adversely by this.)

Control group:

The learners were instructed to think about whom to focus on.

If they focus on **the hairdresser**, use

2 to say that the hairdresser cut their hair short 'for them' or

4 to say that they regret what happened and/or feel that it was unfortunate.

If they focus on them (or the speaker 'I') and describe what happened to them, use

3 to say that they 'received a favour' of cutting their hair short from the hairdresser;

5 to say that they are annoyed or

6 (combination of 4 and 5) if they are talking about a bad experience, and regret what happened and/or feel that it was unfortunate.

Experimental group:

The learners were instructed to think how this event may have made them feel and use the following constructions depending on their feelings. They were told that these feelings are expressed by linguistic forms in Japanese.

If they are **happy** about the haircut, use

2 to focus on 'the hairdresser' and describe what he did or

3 to focus on 'I' and describe what happened to 'me' or what 'I' received.

If they are **upset** about the haircut, use

- 4 to say that they regret and/or feel that it was unfortunate, or if they think that the hairdresser's action was unintentional,
- 5 to say that they were emotionally affected badly/adversely or
- 6 (combination of 4 and 5) to express the meanings of these two constructions at the same time.

After this, the learners were asked to think about the three participants of the event:

1. 'hairdresser', who did the cutting of the hair;
2. 'I', who had (received) a haircut (Control group), or who was affected indirectly by the cutting (Experimental group);
3. 'hair', which is what was cut (Control group), or which was affected (i.e., cut) directly (Experimental group).

Focusing on 3 or 'hair', or in other words, the use of the DP instead of the PP, was taught as deviant.

Experimental group was told that 'I' (who experienced the event) tends to be the subject/focus, but other constructions are possible given the right context.

II. Practice

Control group:

An emphasis was given to the viewpoint from which a description is made (or the focus) for benefactives and passives.

Experimental group:

An emphasis was given to the speaker's feelings for all of the above constructions.

III. Communicative functions of the forms described above

Control group:

The active vs. passive verb, and *te kureru* vs. *te morau* reflect the direction of an action and an incorrect choice will lead to serious misunderstanding.

Experimental group:

Forgetting to use the forms mentioned above can give an impression that they are being ungrateful, too objective, indifferent and cold.

Appendix G: Pretest Scores

Experimental group

Learner Item (out of)	Ex C1	Ex C2	Ex C(E)3	Ex E4	Ex E5	Ex Gu/E 6	Ex E(Fr) 7	Ex E8	Ex E9	Ex E10
<i>Kau</i> (to buy) (3.00)	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	3.00
<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) (2.00)	2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	1.50	2.00
<i>Wareru/waru</i> (to break: Vi/Vt) (2.00)	2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
<i>Iu</i> (positive) (to say/tell) (2.00)	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	0.50	2.00
<i>Iu</i> (negative) (to say/tell) (2.00)	0.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	2.00	1.50	1.00	2.00	0.50	2.00
<i>Okuru</i> (to send) (3.00)	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.50
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh) (2.00)	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
Total	7.00	9.00	5.50	3.00	10.00	4.50	4.50	14.00	6.00	14.50
Average	1.00	1.29	0.79	0.43	1.43	0.64	0.64	2.00	0.86	2.07

Control group

Learner Item (out of)	Con C/E1	Con EC/E2	Con E3	Con Ger(E)4	Con E5	Con E6	Con E7
<i>Kau</i> (to buy) (3.00)	1.00	0.00	1.50	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
<i>Nusumu/toru</i> (to steal) (2.00)	0.50	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
<i>Wareru/waru</i> (to break: Vi/Vt) (2.00)	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.50
<i>Iu</i> (positive) (to say/tell) (2.00)	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
<i>Iu</i> (negative) (to say/tell) (2.00)	1.00	0.50	0.50	1.50	2.00	1.50	2.00
<i>Okuru</i> (to send) (3.00)	2.00	0.50	0.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
<i>Warau</i> (to laugh) (2.00)	1.00	1.50	0.50	1.50	1.00	2.00	2.00
Total	7.50	4.50	4.00	10.00	12.00	10.50	13.50
Average	1.07	0.64	0.57	1.43	1.71	1.50	1.93

Supplementary material (published work)

1. Furukawa, A. (2006). Teaching Japanese possessor passives in a JFL environment. *BATJ (The British Association for Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language) Journal*, 7: 1-16.
2. Furukawa, A. (2008). Learning Japanese *ni* passives: viewpoint/adversity or 'affectivity'. In *Seijo English monographs No. 40, Special number in honour of Professors Yoshida Seiji and Shiokawa Chihiro* (pp. 357-384). Tokyo: Ohyusha.

Research Article

Teaching Japanese Possessor Passives in a JFL Environment¹

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Abstract

Many learners are observed to have problems producing Japanese possessor passives long after they were introduced in class. This tendency does not change much even after they have stayed in Japan for a year. This paper explores the possibility of teaching possessor passives in an efficient and effective way in an environment in which Japanese is taught as a foreign language (JFL). I argue that this can be achieved by adopting the notion of 'affectivity' (Kuroda 1979) as the core meaning of all instances of *ni* passives (passives with the agent marked by *ni*) with an animate subject, regardless of whether they are direct or indirect passives. With a focus on possessor passives, which have been reported to pose particular difficulty in acquisition (e.g. Tanaka 1999, 2000), I shall present some empirical evidence supporting the effectiveness of this approach. The findings are encouraging for JFL learners who have little exposure to the target language and heavily rely on classroom instruction.

1. Introduction

Japanese possessor passives are generally thought to be difficult to acquire. Many learners tend to use the active (e.g., ?誰かが私の足を踏んだ ?*Dareka-ga watasi-no asi-o hunda* (Someone stepped on my foot)) when the passive (e.g., 誰かに足を踏まれた *Dareka-ni asi-o humareta* (I had my foot stepped on by someone and was negatively affected by this²)) is strongly preferred by native speakers³, long after passives are taught in class. The problem of this active utterance is pragmatic rather than syntactic. That is, it sounds deviant despite its grammaticality. Native speakers would have explicitly expressed negative feelings caused by this incident by using the possessor passive.

What is striking is the fact that the preference for the active is observed even in some of the learners who returned from Japan on the Period Abroad Programme, which must have provided them with the opportunities to hear *ni* passives.

Despite the difficulty experienced by learners of Japanese as a second language (JSL) and a foreign language (JFL), not much research has been conducted on the acquisition/ learning of Japanese possessor passives. Tanaka (e.g. 1996, 1999, 2000) studied the process of acquisition of viewpoint and voice in JSL and JFL learners. Having observed learners enrolled at a university in Japan, Tanaka

(1999, 2000) concludes that the acquisition of possessor passives is difficult within less than one year's stay in Japan. In the written sentence production test in which learners were asked to describe pictures designed to elicit possessor passives, the average score of JFL learners was as low as 44.9% even in the highest (advanced) level, and the average score of all the learners was only 54.4% after studying in Japan for a year (Tanaka 2000: 230), although improvement was observed in some of the learners. Tanaka proposed a production order from the active to possessor passive stages either via or without the stage at which passives were used with incorrect particles or direct passives were used in place of possessor passives. Learners with various L1s were observed to fossilise at this 'direct passive' stage.

The above observations may imply that one has to stay in Japan for more than one year to acquire possessor passives. However, not everyone has such an opportunity and it is desirable to find an effective way of teaching these passives. Although Tanaka lists effects of instruction as one of the factors affecting learning of passives, this issue was not explored in detail.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the possibility of fostering learning of possessor passives in a JFL environment by means of explicit classroom instruction, and to provide empirical evidence. This takes the form of a comparison of the effects of providing two different kinds of metalinguistic knowledge. In other words, I shall attempt to find out what aspects of possessor passives (and *ni* passives in general) might be noticed (e.g., Schmidt 1990) by learners in order to learn them efficiently.

In Section 2, I shall review the problems of the dichotomous analysis of direct and indirect passives, which is widely adopted in discussing theoretical and pedagogical issues regarding Japanese passives and sometimes in teaching. The issue of where possessor passives fit in will then be discussed. In Section 3, I shall claim that it is potentially effective to teach all instances of *ni* passives with an animate subject as encoding the core meaning of 'affectivity' (Kuroda 1979) (see also Masuoka's (1991) *zyueizyudoobun* (affective passives)). It should be emphasised that this approach is pedagogical and involves simplification for the sake of fostering acquisition. My approach is similar to the practical proposal for teaching passives made by Ogawa & Ando (1999). However, what I have added in Section 3 is a theoretical justification to support this proposal. Moreover, empirical evidence of the effectiveness of this approach needs to be provided. This is what I am going to do in Sections 4 to 6, in which data obtained from the experiments I have conducted will be discussed. In conclusion in Section 7, the theoretical argument will be associated with the empirical findings.

2. Direct passives vs. indirect passives and the problems with a dichotomous analysis

Japanese passives are classified into direct and indirect passives at the structural level. The direct passive is the passive that has a corresponding active sentence (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976). The indirect passive does not have a corresponding active sentence and its subject has no apparent grammatical relation with the (active) verb, as in the passivisation of an intransitive verb. The possessor passive contains the possessor of the patient as the grammatical subject and its classification is controversial (see below). Passives are also characterised at the semantic level as neutral or adversative (e.g. Kuno 1973, 1983; Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976). In the literature on both theoretical and pedagogical issues surrounding Japanese passives, as well as in some of the materials

for learning Japanese as a second/ foreign language, the indirect passive is equated with the adversity passive and the direct passive with the neutral passive without the adversity meaning.

However, as pointed out by Shibatani (2000), for instance, the boundary between direct and indirect passives is blurred by the presence of direct passives with the adversity meaning (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976) as (1), and indirect passives without such a meaning (Kuno 1983) as (2)⁴.

- (1) 花子は太郎にオフィスの外で1時間も待たれた。

Hanako-wa Taroo-ni ohuisu-no soto-de 1-zikan-mo matareta.

(Hanako had Taro waiting for her outside her office for as long as an hour and was negatively affected by this.) (Shibatani 2000: 180)

- (2) 僕ハ子供ヲ先生ニホメラレタ。 *Boku-wa kodomo-o sensei-ni homerareta.*

(I had my child praised by the teacher and was positively affected by this.) (Kuno 1983: 210)

Turning to possessor passives, (3) has little semantic difference from the direct passive (4), in which the negative interpretation comes from the lexical meaning of the verb *naguru* (to beat) rather than from the passive construction itself (Shibatani 2000, examples from P. 179).

- (3) 次郎は太郎に頭を殴られた。 *Jiroo-wa Taroo-ni atama-o nagurareta.*

(Jiro had his head beaten by Taro.)

- (4) 次郎は太郎に殴られた。 *Jiroo-wa Taroo-ni nagurareta.*

(Jiro was beaten by Taro.)

However, as Shibatani states, changing *atama* (head) in (3) to *otooto-no atama* (brother's head) results in an addition of the adversity meaning, despite the parallel structures of these sentences.

Expanding on Kuno's (1983) notion of 'involvement', Shibatani (2000) explains that the adversity meaning obtains when the event can be observed by the passive subject as an interested bystander (which explains (1) above and (3) with *otooto-no atama* (brother's head) instead of *atama* (head)). In the case of possessor passives like (3), the adversity meaning arises when the impact of an action is weak and/ or a peripheral part of the body is involved (as in 花子は太郎に小指を噛まれた *Hanako-wa Taroo-ni koyubi-o kamareta* (Hanako had her little finger bitten by Taro and was negatively affected by this) (Shibatani 2000: 180)).

As we have seen above, the structural differences between direct and indirect passives are not endorsed by their semantic characteristics in a consistent manner. This theoretical finding should be reflected in teaching. It seems more reasonable to treat direct and indirect passives as forming semantic continuity (Shibatani 2000: 185). Such an approach is justified by the existence of possessor passives, which have characteristics of both direct and indirect passives⁵ and can therefore be considered as lying between the two (see e.g., Teramura 1982, see also Yamauchi 1997 for the controversy surrounding possessor passives).

From the learners' point of view, the distinction between direct and indirect passives may be confusing. It may be puzzling for them that sentences of the same structure (e.g. *atama* (head) vs. *otooto-no atama* (brother's head) in (3)) vary semantically. Although it is true that the adversity meaning does not result from the passive construction in (4), such an observation may not make sense to beginners, who do not have intuition to judge the source of the adversity meaning (i.e., whether lexical or constructional). Also, the association of the passivisation of an intransitive verb with the adversity meaning requires the ability to judge whether a given verb is transitive or intransitive, which beginners often lack. There seems to be no point in presenting a concept that is based on a distinction that learners cannot make.

3. *Ni* passives in terms of 'affectivity'

Having pointed out the problems with the dichotomous analysis of direct and indirect passives, I would like to suggest a description of all instances of *ni* passives with an animate subject (or Masuoka's (1991) *zyueizyudoobun* (affective passives)) on the basis of Kuroda's (1979) notion of 'affectivity'. This means that the use of the *ni* passive indicates that the speaker has perceived and chosen to describe that *the grammatical subject of the sentence has been acted upon and received an influence from an external source* (see Kuroda 1979, 1985; Teramura 1982; Masuoka 1987, 1991). However, Kuroda (1979) correctly refuses to accept that this 'affectivity' is necessarily an adverse one and argues that '[t]he semantic concept of "affectivity" might instead be understood only as a conceptual "development" that manifests itself in various forms of semantic effects, depending on other semantic factors such as the lexical meanings of other elements in the sentence' (Kuroda 1979: 310-311). Thus, the nature of 'affectivity' itself is neutral and is interpreted by semantic decoding of the utterance made, such as the lexical meaning of the verb (e.g., *sikarareru* (to be scolded)/ *homerareru* (to be praised) and other elements (e.g., *bakada/ yasasii to iwareru* (to be told that one is stupid/ kind) (see e.g., Moriyama 1988; Takami 1995; Takami & Kuno 2002), and pragmatic inference such as a consideration of contextual information (in that the nature of 'affectivity' can be positive if the statement is interpreted as a friendly joke in *bakada to iwareru* (to be told that one is stupid)).

As we have seen, the meaning of each *ni* passive utterance receives constraints from various factors that give rise to an interpretation ranging from adversity to positive 'affectivity'. Adopting a general term 'affectivity' and allowing for semantic and pragmatic specification of this neutral notion have the following advantages. First, this approach can explain many *ni* passive utterances with an animate subject without having to treat positive 'affectivity' (such as (2)) as exceptional. Treating direct and indirect passives in the same manner simplifies the structural and semantic properties of passives⁶. However, given the observed difficulty of learning *ni* passives, a certain level of simplification seems necessary. I argue that introducing *ni* passives in terms of a single, core notion of 'affectivity' can serve as an efficient and effective form of simplification. Secondly, in some cases, the use of the term related to 'adversity'⁷ in teaching may restrict the applicability of *ni* indirect passive constructions to adverse situations and may not motivate learners to use or learn them in affective but not necessarily adverse situations. For instance, some of the learners may not consider having their foot stepped on as an *adverse* situation and accordingly may not produce the possessor passive. This is unlikely to be a

problem if learners are taught that they should use the *ni* passive if they received an (emotional) influence from (or were (emotionally) affected by) the occurred event. This can motivate the use of the *ni* passive in the 'foot' and many other situations. Finally, encouraging learners to consider pragmatic factors such as the speaker's intention mentioned above should help them to use *ni* passives appropriately in context and to become effective communicators in the target language.

In the next section, I shall describe the experiments I have conducted in order to answer the research question of whether teaching all instances of *ni* passives with an animate subject in terms of 'affectivity' will lead to improvement in learners' production of these passives. I shall focus on possessor passives, which have been observed to pose particular difficulty.

4. Experiments

4.1 The subjects

The subjects in the experimental group were ten undergraduate students on BA degree courses with Japanese as a minor subject at the University of Reading. Given the minor nature of the language component, up to 324 contact hours were provided over the first two years. All courses included the Period Abroad in the third year before the students returned to the UK to complete their final year. Another set of data was collected from the comparison group of seven students on the same Japanese minor degree programmes. I have also collected data from ten native speakers of Japanese at a university in Tokyo.

4.2 Method and procedures

The following method and procedures were adopted.

Approximately one week before the treatment:

A pre-test was administered to screen out the learners with prior knowledge of Japanese passives.

Treatment week (third or fourth teaching week of the Spring Term):

Passives were taught in the grammar lesson (*Minna no Nihongo Syokyuu II*, Chapter 37).

The passivisation of intransitive verbs was added⁸ for both groups (see Appendix A for a gist of the grammar lessons).

Experimental group:

- It was explained that *ni* passives are used if the grammatical subject was (emotionally) influenced or affected by the described event.

Comparison group:

- It was explained that the choice between the active and the direct passive reflects the viewpoint from which a description is made.
- It was also explained that possessor passives and the passivisation of intransitive verbs additionally encode adversity.

*After causatives were taught*⁹ (around the seventh teaching week of the Summer Term):

An input session was provided to re-introduce *ni* passives in connection with two other constructions that are used to encode one's feelings/ attitude: benefactives and *te simau* (see Appendix B). This session was added to differentiate the two groups further in the instructional treatment.

Experimental group

- An emphasis was given on the 'affectivity'/ emotional meanings.

Comparison group

- An emphasis was given on the viewpoint from which a description is made.

Approximately one week after the input session:

Post-test

- Picture prompts were used to elicit possessor passives, as in Tanaka (e.g., 2000) (see Appendix C).
- All the experiments were conducted orally, tape-recorded and transcribed.

Let us now look at the results of the experiments. Although I also tested the use of the verbs *sikaru* (to scold), *warau* (to laugh) and *iu* (to say) with a positive comment (that the speaker is good-looking) and a negative comment (that someone does not like the speaker) in passives other than possessor passives, I shall not include the results from these verbs, since the purpose of this study is to examine the use of possessor passives. The two possessor passives discussed in this paper are the ones used by nearly 100% of native speakers in Tanaka's and my data, which were collected through the same picture description tasks.

Note that I only use terms such as the possessor passive for the classification of learners' utterances. The concepts of direct, possessor and indirect passives were not adopted in teaching the learners in the experimental group.

5. Results

5.1 Nusumareru/torareru (to have something stolen)

The use of *nusumareru/torareru* was tested in a context in which the speaker's purse gets stolen on a train. The expected answer was 電車ですりに財布を盗まれた／とられた *Densya-de suri-ni saihu-o nusumareta/ torareta* (I had my purse stolen by a pickpocket on a train and was negatively affected by this). The answers may contain elaborations such as an addition of a time adverbial *sakki* (earlier).

Table 1: The use of *nusumareru/torareru*¹⁰

Utterance type Group	Possessor passive		Active
	Correct possessor passive form	Use of passive verb with incorrect particles	
Experimental (10 learners)	4 (40%)	1 (10%) (Correct case pattern in *possessor-wa patient-ni agent-o)	5 (50%) (Includes use of <i>te simau</i> ¹¹ in 1 (10%))
Comparison (7 learners)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (100%) (Includes use of <i>te simau</i> in 1 (14.3%))

In the comparison group, all the learners used the active and did not display the ability to produce the possessor passive in the correct form or even with incorrect particles. In the experimental group, on the other hand, the correct use of the possessor passive was observed in four out of ten (40%) learners, which shows a clear contrast with the learners in the comparison group. These learners' utterances¹² include those with the correct passive verbal form such as '*Watasi-wa suri-ni saihu-o toraremasita* (I had my purse stolen by a pickpocket and was negatively affected by this)', or those with a morphological error such as '*suri-ni watasi-no saihu-o musumae omosita*¹³'. Something like that (followed by a laughter).'

Furthermore, there was one additional learner in the experimental group who produced the case pattern for the possessor passive (*possessor-wa patient-ni agent-o), accompanied by a verbal form that was likely to have been intended as the passive (see footnote 10 for the criteria used for judging whether or not a given verbal form is the passive). Although this utterance is ungrammatical, it still reflects this learner's intention to produce the possessor passive. This will bring up the total use or possible attempted use of the possessor passive to 50% in the experimental group.

5.2 *Humareru* (to have something stepped on)

The use of *humareru* was tested in a situation in which the person next to the speaker steps on his/ her foot in a train. The expected answer was 電車で隣の人に足を踏まれた *Densya-de tonari-no hito-ni asi-o humareta* (I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me in a train and was negatively affected by this).

Table 2: The use of *humareru*

Utterance type Group	Possessor passive		Active
	Correct possessor passive form	Use of passive verb with incorrect particles	
Experimental (10 learners)	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%) (Includes use of <i>te simau</i> in 1 (10%))
Comparison (7 learners)	0 (0%)	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)

The results with the verb *humu* (to step on) again present an interesting picture. Improvement was observed in the experimental group in that three learners (30%) produced the possessor passive correctly, which contrasts with none in the comparison group. Furthermore, there were three other learners (30%) in the experimental group who produced the passive verb with incorrect particles, whereas there was only one such learner (14.3%) in the comparison group. Examples of the correct use of the possessor passive are '*watasi-no asi-o tonari-no hito-ni humaremasita* (I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively affected by this)' and '*watasi-wa...asi-o humuremasita*.' An example of the use of the passive verb with incorrect particles is '*?tonari-no hito-ga asi-o humaremasita*' (see Tanaka 1999 for a discussion of this kind of forms).

6. Discussion

As we have seen above, considerably more use (and possible attempted use) of possessor passives was observed in the experimental group than in the comparison group. Since these subjects had little exposure to the target language other than classroom instruction, the improved performance can be rendered to the positive effects of instruction. The results demonstrate that by changing the way of introducing possessor passives, or specifically by treating all instances of *ni* passives with an animate subject as encoding 'affectivity', some of JFL learners can achieve some success in learning these passives, overcoming the particular difficulty observed in the past studies. It should be noted that crucially, the learners in the comparison group were taught that possessor passives encode the adversity meaning. The performance of the two groups might have been similar since the notions of adversity and 'affectivity' only vary in the nature of influence and the former is a sub-category of the

latter. However, if we examine the effects of the type of instruction tested here in a wider context that also includes other types of passives, there is some indication that this approach had positive effects on the *overall use* of *ni* passives¹⁴. This may be because simplifying the form-meaning connection of *ni* passives as a whole makes learning more efficient and manageable for beginners than teaching multiple types of passives. Also, it is possible for some of the situations (such as *asi-o humareru* (to have one's foot stepped on)) that treating possessor passives as encoding the adversity meaning does not motivate some of the learners to use them in situations that may not necessarily be regarded as adversative. If we adopt a more general notion of 'affectivity', its wider applicability allows learners to use possessor passives in situations in which the grammatical subject is regarded as having received an (emotional) influence, if not an adverse one. This can lead to the use of *ni* passives in a similar way as native speakers.

Given limited exposure to the target language for JFL learners and their heavy reliance on classroom instruction as a means of learning, the improved ability of the learners in the experimental group to produce or attempt to produce the two possessor passive utterances under discussion is encouraging.

7. Conclusion

The theoretical plausibility of the effectiveness of teaching possessor (and other) passives in terms of the single, core notion of 'affectivity' was empirically supported in that the learners in the experimental group displayed improved overall performance, compared to those in the comparison group.

The finding of the present study poses a question to the observation made in the past studies that possessor passives are difficult to learn for JFL learners. Given certain types of instruction, one of which is what I have suggested here, it is possible at least for some of the learners to learn possessor passives in a JFL environment.

The main limitation of the present study is the question of generalisability. The small number of subjects and an associated problem of the lack of control over learners' L1 pose the questions of whether the observed phenomena will occur in a larger sample, and whether or not there is a link between the use of possessor passives and learners' L1. Also, only a small number of verbs were tested in the current project. Crucially, possessor passives with positive meanings (such as *homerareru* (to have something praised)) should have been tested¹⁵ to examine whether the notion of 'affectivity', as opposed to adversity, facilitates learning. Although the results from the second post-tests point to this possibility in the use of direct passives, this has to be referred to further studies. It must also be emphasised that the results obtained in the present study may be task-specific (see, for example, Tarone 1979, 1983 on the issue of variability). Pauses, hesitation and self-corrections observed in the learners' speech indicate that these learners produced possessor passives in monitored speech (e.g., Krashen 1982, 1985), and it is not clear how successfully they can produce these passives under conditions that allow the use of the Monitor to a lesser extent. Another question to be asked is whether it is possible to retain the ability to produce possessor passives especially after JSL learners have returned to a JFL environment. This was not observed to be possible in the small number of subjects in Tanaka (1996). I am currently examining this issue. In terms of research methodology, the dynamics and

unpredictability of classroom interactions can potentially affect the nature of input learners receive. Although I maintained the differences in the input at the treatment stages, learners did ask questions or express their own ideas regarding passives during the lessons. However, such behaviour also makes it possible for the teacher to check (at least some of) the hypotheses learners have made and to modify them as necessary. In this connection, it may have been beneficial for the present study if a test of learners' metalinguistic knowledge regarding *ni* passives had been included.

Finally, a mention must be made of those learners who could not produce *ni* passives at all. It seems that repeated instruction longer than what they were provided with in the present study (i.e., two sessions) was necessary for these learners. Also, the two groups in the present study were basically only differentiated in the grammatical explanation of *ni* passives. Providing different kinds of practice may have resulted in even larger differences between the two groups.

The overall findings of this study are encouraging to JFL learners for whom lack of exposure to the target language is a problem that cannot be solved easily. It seems that the improved performance was made possible by drawing learners' attention to simple and clear semantic information (see e.g., VanPatten 2004; Tanaka 1999) and the functions of *ni* passives. What teachers can do to assist learners to improve the use of possessor passives is to make it clear to them that utterances like ?誰かが私の足を踏んだ ?*Dareka-ga watasi-no asi-o hunda* (Someone stepped on my foot) are deviant despite their grammaticality whenever they produce such pragmatically inappropriate utterances, without accepting them on the basis of their syntactic well-formedness.

Notes

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their insightful comments. My greatest thanks also go to Dr Barbara Pizziconi for her support and helpful advice, Professor Masayoshi Shibatani for his valuable guidance at the Oxford Workshop on Japanese Linguistics in September 2002 and Professor Takashi Masuoka for his kind feedback on my general approach at the International Conference on Revisiting Japanese Modality in June 2006. I also appreciate for the former students of the University of Reading who participated in the present study. Finally, I would like to thank the BATJ editors who have provided kind assistance throughout the process. It must be added, though, that all the shortcomings of this paper belong to me.

² All translations are literal to reflect the subtle meanings of constructions.

³ With regard to native speakers of English, Mizutani (1985) explains this phenomenon in terms of their preference for fact-oriented descriptions as opposed to standpoint-oriented descriptions preferred by Japanese speakers. VanPatten (2004) refers to the learners' tendency to process the first noun/ pronoun in a sentence as the subject/ agent in input processing. This phenomenon may be in operation in utterance production as well (see also Tanaka 1999).

⁴ In quoting examples from other studies, I have added translations to reflect the argument being made.

⁵ For instance, in 私は健に頭を殴られた *Watasi-wa Ken-ni atama-o nagurareta* (I had my head beaten by Ken), the grammatical subject is present in the active sentence in the genitive form in 健は私の頭を殴った *Ken-wa watasi-no atama-o nagutta* (Ken beat my head). Kudo (1990) lists this as one of the reasons for pointing out close relationship between possessor passives and direct passives.

⁶ The limit on space does not allow for the discussion of teaching direct passives. The justification for treating direct

passives as different from their active counterparts is mainly pedagogic (and this approach departs from Kuroda's (1985) modified position). If learners are taught that *ni* passives are synonymous with actives, they may not be motivated to use the former in relevant situations.

⁷ Some of the terms with negative meanings used in textbooks are 'annoyed or troubled' (*Mimma no Nihongo Syokyuu II*, Translation & Grammatical Notes (English Version), P. 74), 'injurious or detrimental' (Japanese for Everyone, P. 295) and 'trouble passive'/'suffering passive' (*Nihongo Syokyuu II*, Grammatical Notes (English Version), P. 43) etc. I use the term 'adversity' as a cover term for these.

⁸ This was necessary since the present study examines the effects of teaching all *ni* passives in a uniform manner.

⁹ This input session was delayed until learners had been taught causatives in the regular curriculum to check if there was confusion between causatives and passives.

¹⁰ The use of percentages is only intended for comparisons across the two groups with different total numbers of subjects. Also, in classifying learners' utterances, I have treated verbal forms that can be regarded as the passive (e.g. **humuremasita* and **huereta* for *humareta*) as correct. What matters in this paper is the learners' attempt to produce passives and morphological errors are not regarded as crucial. In judging whether or not a given verbal form is the passive, I checked if the element or part of the element of the passive form '*nai* form + (*ra*)*reru*' was present. In the above cases, **humureru* in **humuremasita* and **huereru* in **huereta* contain part of the passive verbal form *reru*. Obviously such a decision should not be made mechanically. I have also checked general characteristics of the performance of the learners (see footnote 13 for an example) and where available, learners' metalinguistic comments (e.g., the mention of the term 'passive', the meaning and function of a certain verbal form and so on).

¹¹ Although the use of *te simau* is significant in terms of encoding one's feeling (of 'regret' etc. instead of 'affectivity') in one's utterance, an elaboration on this point will require a separate analysis.

¹² The utterances I quote are the final forms the learners produced. I shall only refer to pauses, hesitation and self-corrections when they are relevant to the discussion, due to the limit on space.

¹³ Justifications for treating this verbal form as the passive are necessary. First, this learner used actives for most of the target verbs in the test and displayed 100% accuracy. This includes *yomu* → *yonda*, which follows the same pattern as *musumu* → *musunda*, although it cannot be assumed that this learner utilised this kind of generalisation. Secondly, this learner struggled with the verbal form, which was evidenced in hesitation and pauses within the verb in '*musu* (2) [*ne*] (3) *mae* (5) *omosita*.' Such a phenomenon was hardly observed in the production of active verbs. His/ her comment at the end 'Something like that' also indicates that the production of the verbal form was not straightforward. It is likely that this learner was trying to do something more than producing the active form *musunda*. Assuming that the resulting verbal form is not the active, it is notable that *musumae* in '*musu* (2) [*ne*] (3) *mae* (5) *omosita*' has characteristics of the passive verbal form *nusumare* (with production errors in *mu* instead of *nu* and *mae* instead of *mare*). This learner verbalised at least part of his/ her tentative verbal forms in the course of determining the final form, and distinguished between these forms by uttering the former quietly or in whisper and the latter considerably more loudly. Therefore the quietly uttered [*ne*] after '*musu* (2)' can be treated as a tentative rather than the final form. See footnote 10 for the criteria I used in judging whether or not a given verbal form is the passive. As for the last word *omosita*, it is not clear if it reflects something more than this learner's confusion over the form.

¹⁴ The use of *sikarareru* (to be scolded) was somewhat better in the experimental group (3 out of 10 learners: 30%) than in the comparison group (1 out of 7 learners: 14%). The overall improvement was observed in the second

post-tests, which cannot be discussed here due to the limit on space.

¹⁵ However, it is possible that the use of *ni* passives is somewhat limited in positive situations due to the availability of benefactives (such as *homete morau* (to 'receive a favour' of praising)).

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Appendix A: Gist of grammar lessons with a sample of sentences used to teach *ni* passives

Direct Passive

A. 先生は 私を しかったです。 *Sensei-wa watasi-o sikarimasita.* (The teacher scolded me.)

B. 私は 先生に されました。 *Watasi-wa sensei-ni sikararemasita.* (I was scolded by the teacher.)

Experimental group: A and B have different meanings. B is used if the topic (subject) was (emotionally) affected/ influenced (negatively in the above case) by the event. (The person who was affected/ influenced becomes the topic (subject).)

Comparison group: A and B reflect different ways of talking about the same thing. B is used to describe the event from the point of view of the topic (subject) 'I'.

Possessor Passive

A: 電車で とりのりの人が 私の足を ふみました。 *Densya-de tonari-no hito-ga watasi-no asi-o humimasita.* (In a train, the person next to me stepped on my foot.)

B: 電車で 私は とりのりの人に 足を ふまれました。 *Densya-de watasi-wa tonari-no hito-ni asi-o humaremasita.* (In a train, I had my foot stepped on by the person next to me and was negatively affected by this.)

Experimental group: Same as above

Comparison group: B is used to describe the event from the point of view of the topic (subject) 'I'. This construction also has an adversity (negative) meaning.

Passivisation of intransitive verbs

A: 雪が ふりました。 *Yuki-ga hurimasita.* (It snowed.)

B: 私は 雪に ふられました。 *Watasi-wa yuki-ni huraremasita.* (It snowed and I was negatively affected by this.)

Experimental group: B is used if the topic (subject) was affected (negatively) by the event.

Comparison group: The passive with an intransitive verb B is used to express the adversity (negative) meaning.

Appendix B: Input session

Situation: At a beauty salon, a particular (e.g., young) hairdresser cut your hair short.

Example sentences

(1) 美容師さんが 私の髪を 短く 切りました。 *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kirimasita.* (The hairdresser cut my hair short.)

(2) 美容師さんが 私の髪を 短く 切って くれました。 *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kitte kuremasita.* (The hairdresser 'gave' me a favour of cutting my hair short. The hairdresser cut my hair short 'for me'.)

(3) 私は 美容師さんに 髪を 短く 切って もらいました。 *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kitte moraimasita.* (I received the hairdresser's favour of cutting my hair short.)

A sense of regret/ an unintentional action

(4) 美容師さんが 私の髪を 短く 切って しまいました。 *Biyoosi-san-ga watasi-no kami-o mizikaku kitte simaimasita.* (Regrettably/ unfortunately, the hairdresser cut my hair short.)

Emotionally affected badly/ adversely

(5) 私は 美容師さんに 髪を 短く 切られました。 *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kiraremasita.* (I had my hair cut short by the hairdresser and was emotionally affected badly/ annoyed by this.)

Combination of (4) and (5)

(6) 私は 美容師さんに 髪を 短く 切られて しまいました。 *Watasi-wa biyoosi-san-ni kami-o mizikaku kirarete simaimasita.* (Regrettably/ unfortunately, I had my hair cut short by the hairdresser and was emotionally affected badly/annoyed by this.)

Experimental group:

Example sentences were presented in terms of the speaker's feelings, and in the following order:

(1) presented as unnatural

If you are happy about the haircut: (2), (3)

If you are upset/ unhappy about the haircut: (4), (5), (6)

Comparison group:

Example sentences were presented in terms of the viewpoint from which a description is made, and in the following order:

Focus on 'the hairdresser' and describe what he did: (1), (2), (4)

Focus on 'I' and describe what happened to 'me': (3), (5), (6)

Appendix C: Pictures used in the experiments

YZEZ-2

earlier on a train

you a pickpocket

your purse missing!

vocabulary

a purse ... さいふ

a pickpocket ... ずり

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
ぬすむ ... to steal or とる ... to steal
(Group 1)

YZEZ-12

earlier on a train

the person next to you

ouch!

hurts

you

vocabulary

the person next to me ... となりのひと

to hurt ... いたい

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
ふみ ... to step on
(Group 1)

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Learning Japanese *Ni* Passives: Viewpoint/Adversity or 'Affectivity'¹

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to relate theoretical findings to the practice of teaching *ni* passives, or passives with the agent marked with *ni* (by) (Kuroda 1979), to non-native speakers. Many JFL (Japanese as a foreign language) learners, or even JSL (Japanese as a second language) learners, are observed to have problems learning Japanese *ni* passives. For instance, in the production of the possessor passive, which is a subtype of Japanese passives, Tanaka (2000:230) stated that the average score of the advanced JFL learners was only 44.9% in the written production task in which the learners were asked to describe the situations depicted in a set of pictures. Even after twelve months' stay in Japan, the average score of all the learners only rose to 54.4%. These figures indicate the difficulty learners face in learning to produce these passives. Finding an effective way to teach these passives is necessary in order to assist learners to use *ni* passives naturally in communicative situations.

This paper attempts to propose one way of teaching Japanese *ni* passives to JFL learners and provide some empirical evidence of its effectiveness. It follows up the study presented in Furukawa

(2006), in which the issue of teaching possessor passives to JFL learners was discussed and the evidence of short-term effects of instruction presented.

In Section 2, a model of second language acquisition proposed by Gass (1988, 1997) will be presented. This model explains each process involved in language acquisition in detail, from when a learner encounters language data to when s/he uses it in production, and these processes are relevant regardless of the learning environment (whether JFL or JSL). In Section 3, I shall explain Japanese *ni* passives with a focus on the problems learners are likely to face, and propose a possible solution. After this in Section 4, the experiments I have conducted with the former students of the University of Reading will be described and the results presented in Section 5. These results will be discussed in Section 6, and finally some limitations of the present study will be pointed out in Section 7.

2. A Model of Second Language Acquisition (Gass 1988, 1997)

Learners are surrounded by an overwhelming amount of information and can only process a limited amount of such information at a time. According to Gass (1988, 1997), the process of second language acquisition involves the following five components: *apperceived input*, *comprehended input*, *intake*, *integration* and *output*.

First, learners must recognise that there is something to be learned. Gass calls this 'apperception'. It is 'the process of understanding by which newly observed qualities of an object are initially related to past experiences' (Gass 1997:4). Apperception is a

priming device that enables further analysis of the input. The next stage of input processing is the *comprehended input*. Gass takes the position that comprehension ranges from semantic analysis (or the understanding of the general message) to detailed structural analysis. It is claimed that the latter is more useful than the former in converting the input to *intake*. *Intake* is the process that mediates input and grammars and it is where information is matched against the learner's prior knowledge, and processing takes place against the existing internalised rules of grammar. The intake data may be used in forming hypotheses regarding the second language grammar. A hypothesis formed at the *intake* component may be *integrated* into the learner's linguistic system if it is confirmed by new input data. If it is rejected, it is modified and awaits further input for confirmation. If the input contains the information that is already part of the learner's grammar, the intake data may be used to re-confirm the hypothesis or strengthen the rule. This may assist the learner in automatising the retrieval of information from his/her knowledge base. In another case, the intake data may be stored after some level of understanding has taken place and may await more relevant input that confirms or disconfirms the hypothesis. Finally, the *output* component is seen not only as a manifestation of the outcome of acquisition but also as playing an active role in acquisition (Swain 1985, 1993, 1995, 1998), by serving as a means of testing hypotheses and also by forcing the learner to engage in syntactic rather than solely semantic analysis of language. The former feeds into the *intake* component and the latter the *comprehended input*.

Following this model, it can be hypothesised that providing

learners with the kind of input that may be comprehended at the level of syntax rather than its general meaning would be useful for further processing. I have therefore attempted to focus learners' attention to the form-meaning relationships of *ni* passives. Before describing how this was done, let us examine some of the examples of Japanese *ni* passives.

3. Japanese *Ni* Passives

Japanese passives have been widely discussed in theoretical linguistics and triggered controversies and disagreement in analysis at various levels including syntax, semantics and cognitive linguistics (see, for instance, Matsushita 1930/1977; Mikami 1953/1972; Kuno 1973, 1983, 1986; Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976; Shibatani 1978, 1997, 2000; Kuroda 1979, 1985; Teramura 1982; Masuoka 1987; Moriyama 1988; Kudo 1990; Nitta 1991, 1992; Takami 1995; Onoe 1998–1999, 2003; Oka 2002; Takami and Kuno 2002; Koguma 2004; Machida 2004; Taniguchi 2005).

Japanese passives are classified into direct and indirect passives at the structural level. (1) is an instance of the direct passive:

(1) *Ken-no musume-ga sensei-ni sikar-are-ta.*

Ken's daughter-Nom teacher-by scold-Pass-Past

(Ken's daughter was scolded by the teacher.)

It has the active counterpart (Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976):

(2) *Sensei-ga Ken-no musume-o sikat-ta.*

teacher-Nom Ken's daughter-Acc scold-Past
(The teacher scolded Ken's daughter)

In (1) the patient *Ken-no musume* (Ken's daughter) is assigned the nominative case and the agent *sensei* (teacher) is marked with *ni* (by). The passive is marked by the morpheme *(r)are*². (3) is an instance of the passivisation of an intransitive verb *huru* (to fall):

(3) *Ken-ga ame-ni hur-are-ta.*

Ken-Nom rain-by fall-Pass-Past
(It rained and Ken was negatively affected by this.)

It has no active counterpart and is called an indirect passive. (4) is what is sometimes referred to as the possessor passive:

(4) *Ken-ga sensei-ni musume-o sikar-are-ta.*

Ken-Nom teacher-by daughter-Acc scold-Pass-Past
(Ken had his daughter scolded by the teacher and was negatively affected by this³.)

It contains Ken, the possessor of the patient *musume* (daughter) as the grammatical subject, which is assigned the nominative case. The agent *sensei* (teacher) is marked with *ni* (by), and the patient *musume* (daughter) with the accusative case *o*. The issue of whether possessor passives are direct or indirect passives is controversial (see Yamauchi 1997, for a review). However, it is generally located between direct and indirect passives, functioning as a bridge

between them (e.g. Teramura 1982; Moriyama 1988; Kudo 1990; Nitta 1992).

At the semantic level, direct passives are characterised as neutral, and indirect passives as adversative. Thus, in (3) and (4), the subject *Ken* is described as having been 'adversely affected' by the rain and having his daughter scolded by the teacher respectively, whereas there is no adversity meaning arising from passivisation in (1).

However, the dichotomy of direct and indirect passives is not always sustained since there are instances of direct passives with adversity meaning, as in (5) (Shibatani 2000:180), and indirect passives without this meaning, as in (6) (Kuno 1983:210)⁴.

- (5) *Hanako-wa Taro-ni ohuisu-no soto de 1-zikan mo mat-are-ta.*

Hanako-Top Taro-by outside her office for as long as
an hour wait-Pass-Past

(Hanako had Taro waiting for her outside her office for
as long as an hour and was negatively affected by this.)

- (6) *Boku-wa kodomo-o sensei-ni home-rare-ta.*

I-Top (my) child-Acc teacher-by praise-Pass-Past

(I had my child praised by the teacher and was posi-
tively affected by this.)

Also, as pointed out by Shibatani (2000:179), there is little semantic difference between the direct passive (7) and the indirect passive (8), and a clear difference in meaning between the indirect

passives (8) and (9).

(7) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni nagur-are-ta.*

Ziro-Top Taro-by beat-Pass-Past

(Ziro was beaten by Taro.)

(8) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni atama-o nagur-are-ta.*

Ziro-Top Taro-by head-Acc beat-Pass-Past

(Ziro had his head beaten by Taro.)

(9) *Ziroo-wa Taroo-ni ototo-no atama-o nagur-are-ta.*

Ziro-Top Taro-by younger brother's head-Acc beat-Pass-Past

(Ziro had his younger brother's head beaten by Taro and was negatively affected by this.)

In other words, the distinction between direct and indirect passives is blurred in some cases⁵. This can be confusing for learners and a pedagogic approach that can explain the characteristics of Japanese *ni* passives in a manageable manner is necessary.

If we look at all the above examples, it can be said that all of them have the meaning that the grammatical subject was *affected* by the occurred event, if not always adversely. Thus, *ni* passives can be characterised as in (10), following and elaborating on the notion of 'affectivity' proposed by Kuroda (1979).

(10) Uniform description of *ni* passives

Ni passives encode the information that the speaker

has perceived that the passive subject has received another's action and its effect, and has chosen to describe the event from the passive subject's point of view.

If we introduce all instances of *ni* passives as *affective*, rather than *adversative* for indirect passives and neutral for direct passives, learning of these forms may become more efficient. Also, learning *ni* passives with positive meanings, such as *homerareru* (praise-Pass-non-Past) is likely to be more effective if we describe *ni* passives as *affective*, without any implication that the nature of this affectedness is necessarily negative. If the notion of *adversity* is adopted, *ni* passives with positive meanings will have to be treated as exceptional. Thus, the following hypotheses can be formed:

Hypothesis 1

It is more effective to teach all instances of *ni* passives, whether they are direct or indirect passives, as *affective*, rather than teaching multiple types of these passives with direct passives as semantically neutral and indirect passives (and possessor passives) as *adversative*.

Hypothesis 2

Teaching *ni* passives as *affective* rather than *adversative* leads to improved learning and production of *ni* passives with positive meanings.

In order to test these hypotheses, I conducted an empirical study

in which two groups of learners were provided with two different kinds of metalinguistic knowledge regarding *ni* passives, and the effects of instruction compared.

4. Experiments

4.1. Subjects

The subjects were seventeen former undergraduate students reading BA degree courses with Japanese as a minor subject at the University of Reading. All the students spent the first two years at Reading studying Japanese language and culture for six hours per week for the total of sixty weeks. In the third year they spent at least one semester in Japan studying at one of the exchange universities in Tokyo. After this, they returned to Reading to complete their final and fourth year. Out of the seventeen subjects, seven were assigned to the control group, and ten, the experimental group.

Data were also collected from ten native speakers of Japanese, who were undergraduate students in Professor Yoshida Seiji's seminar group and one Faculty assistant at the English Department of Seijo University.

4.2. Materials

Passives were taught using *Minna no Nihongo* vol. 2 and its accompanying translation and grammar notes. Since this textbook excludes passivisation of intransitive verbs, these were added in the instructional treatment. An additional input session was provided later on, in order to differentiate the two groups further. In

this session, *ni* passives were re-introduced with two other constructions that encode feelings, that is, the *te simau* construction that encodes regret, and benefactives that encode positive meanings such as a sense of gratefulness. Differentiations between the two groups were made in the following manner:

Grammar explanation

Experimental group (ten learners): all *ni* passives with a human grammatical subject carry the meaning that the subject is affected by the event;

Control group (seven learners): direct passives have the same meaning as the active, with a different viewpoint in describing the event, and possessor passives and passivised intransitive verbs have the adversity (negative) meaning

Input session

Experimental group: *ni* passives, benefactives and *te simau* (encoding a sense of regret) were re-introduced with an emphasis on the feelings these constructions encode;

Control group: *ni* passives, benefactives and *te simau* were re-introduced with an emphasis on the viewpoint from which a description is made (for *ni* passives and benefactives), and additionally as constructions that encode feelings.

After going through example sentences, the learners in both groups engaged in a short practice session. Here again, emphasis

was given to the feelings the three constructions encode with the experimental group, and the viewpoint from which a description is made with the control group.

Explicit grammar explanation was adopted in the instructional treatment and was designed to encourage the learners to notice (Schmidt 1990, 2001, etc.) the form-meaning relationships of *ni* passives.

The use of *ni* passives was tested using oral tasks, in which the learners were asked to look at a set of pictures that are similar to the ones used by Tanaka (e.g. 2000), and describe them to a close friend. All the tasks were tape-recorded and transcribed for analysis. Those verbs that did not trigger the use of *ni* passives in native speakers, and those that involved the intransitive vs. transitive distinction, causing confusion on the part of the learners that made analysis difficult, were removed from analysis⁶. Table 1 shows the verbs that appeared in the two posttests and were used for analysis.

Table 1. Verbs Used in the Two Posttests

Verb Post- test	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold)	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Neg)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Pos)	<i>Nusumu/Toru</i> (to steal)	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)
1	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*The use of *iu* was tested with a negative (*iu* Neg) and positive (*iu* Pos) comment in the complement clause as in *Kireida/Kakkoi* to *iwareru* (to be told 'You are good-looking') and *Kiraida* to *iwareru* (to be told 'I don't like you'), respectively.

4.3. Procedure

Data from the native speakers were collected in November 2001 at Seijo University, using the same picture description tasks as the ones the learners performed. With the learners, a pretest was conducted first, to exclude any learners who could produce *ni* passives orally before the instructional treatment. The results of this test was also used to check the comparability of the control and experimental groups, to make sure that the experimental group did not have overall higher proficiency. This was necessary to establish that better performance of the latter group is due to the instructional treatment, rather than the higher proficiency of this group.

Passives were taught in Week 13 or 14 (in the Spring Term) of the second year and the input session in around Week 28 (in the Summer Term), when the learners were more familiar with various constructions.

In the week after the input session, the first posttest (Posttest 1) was conducted to check short-term effects of instruction. The second posttest (Posttest 2) was administered after the learners had studied at a Japanese university for one semester. The main purpose of Posttest 2 was to check if the tendencies observed in Posttest 1 were still retained. Additionally, I checked some of the other available data from the same learners on their return to Reading in their final year. However, due to space limitations, these data will not be discussed here.

4.4. Analysis

After transcription of the spoken data, the learners' perfor-

mance in the two posttests was compared to that of the native speakers, particularly in the use of *ni* passives as opposed to actives. To compare the proficiency levels of the two learner groups before the instructional treatment, the pretest was marked for the use of the particles on the agent, patient, experiencer and the possessor, as well as the verbs. It was necessary to limit the marking to the core elements such as the agent, patient and so on, to avoid penalising those learners who produced longer utterances in more detailed descriptions of the pictures, and consequently took the risk of producing more errors. Since passives had not been taught at the time of this test, grammatical actives such as *Doroboo-ga kamera-o nusunda* (The thief stole my camera) were marked as correct.

The data obtained from the two posttests were analysed in terms of the forms produced by the learners. Metalinguistic comments made by the learners were also collected where possible to examine the role of metalinguistic knowledge. Any ungrammatical utterances that can be regarded as intermediate forms that the learners produced in the course of learning to produce *ni* passives were also noted and analysed.

In classifying the learners' utterances, verbal forms that can be regarded as passive attempts (e.g., **humuremasita* for *humaremasita* (stepped on-Pass-Polite-Past)) were regarded as correct. Also, if the learners' comments referred to a particular verbal form as the passive (e.g., **warareta* used instead of *warawareta* (laugh at-Pass-Past) and referred to as the passive), this was regarded as the use of the passive verb. It is the learners' attempted production of passives that is considered to be crucial in the present study and morpho-

logical errors are not regarded as significant.

Following the above guidelines, the learners' utterances were classified into the following four categories:

1. The use of correct passives;
2. The use of passive verbs with incorrect particles;
3. The use of passive particles or other notable particles with active verbs; and
4. The use of *te simau* (a sense of regret), and benefactives for positive situations.

In this paper, I shall focus on categories 1 and 2, since a discussion of other cases will require a more detailed description of the significance of these forms in leaning, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

5. Results

5.1. Results of Posttest 1

Table 2 shows the correct use of *ni* passives by the learners in the two groups, and Table 3 the use of the passive verbs with incorrect case particles. The use of the passive verb can be regarded as the learner's attempt to produce a passive utterance and is therefore significant in the process of learning. However, the errors in particles led to ungrammaticality of the utterance as a whole. In all of the data presented below, the use of percentages is only intended for the comparison between the groups with different total numbers of learners. Also, although the terms 'direct pas-

Table 2. Correct Use of *Ni* Passives by the Two Learner Groups, Posttest 1

Type	Direct passive				Possessor passive	
Verb Group	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold)	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Neg)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Pos)	<i>Nusumu/Toru</i> (to steal)	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)
Control (n = 7)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)
Experimental (n = 10)	3/10 (30%)	1/9 (11%)	1/9 (11%)	0/9 (0%)	4/10 (40%)	3/10 (30%)

*Since the data from one of the learners in the experimental group were invalidated for *warau* and *iu* (negative and positive), the total number is regarded as nine instead of ten for these items. The same applies to Table 3.

Table 3. Use of Passive Verbs with Incorrect Particles by the Two Learner Groups, Posttest 1

Type	Direct passive				Possessor passive	
Verb Group	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold)	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Neg)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Pos)	<i>Nusumu/Toru</i> (to steal)	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)
Control (n = 7)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)
Experimental (n = 10)	1/10 (10%)	1/9 (11%)	0/9 (0%)	0/9 (0%)	1/10 (10%)	3/10 (30%)

sive' and 'indirect passive' are used, this classification was not adopted in teaching the learners in the experimental group.

From the results presented in the two tables above, it can be said that overall the experimental group outperformed the control group, particularly in the production of the correct *ni* passives (Table 2). In the control group, there was only one use of the correct passive with *sikaru*. Although the difference between the

groups seems to be less clear in the use of the passive verbs with incorrect particles (Table 3), it is notable that the difference is prominent in the use of the passive verb with or without correct particles in the possessor passive items. In the use of *nusumu/toru*, 50% of the learners in the experimental group belong to this category, in comparison with no one (0%) in the control group. With *humu*, the ratio is 60% (experimental group) to 14% (control group). The use of passive verbs, whether or not accompanied by correct particles, reflects learners' attempts to produce passive utterances and this is very important in the process of learning to produce *ni* passives, as argued above.

5.2. Results of Posttest 2

Let us now turn to the results from Posttest 2, which took place after the learners had spent one semester in Tokyo on the Period Abroad Programme. Table 4 shows the use of the correct *ni* passives, and Table 5 the use of the passive verbs with incorrect case particles.

Again, the experimental group performed better than the control group in the production of correct passives, and the difference is even more notable than in Posttest 1. In the control group, there was only one learner who used the correct passive with *sikaru* and *humu*.

As for the use of the passive verbs with incorrect particles, it may look as if the control group were catching up with the experimental group. However, these forms were produced mostly by the same learner.

Only the learners in the experimental group produced correct

Table 4. Correct Use of *Ni* Passives by the Two Learner Groups, Posttest 2

Type	Direct passive						Possessor passive	
Verb Group	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold)	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Neg)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Pos)	<i>Nusumu/Toru</i> (to steal)	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)
Control (N = 7)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)
Experi- mental (N = 10)	4/10 (40%)	4/10 (40%)	5/10 (50%)	3/10 (30%)	3/10 (30%)	3/10 (30%)	4/10 (40%)	4/10 (40%)

Table 5. Use of Passive Verbs with Incorrect Particles by the Two Learner Groups, Posttest 2

Type	Direct passive						Possessor passive	
Verb Group	<i>Sikaru</i> (to scold)	<i>Tataku</i> (to hit)	<i>Homeru</i> (to praise)	<i>Warau</i> (to laugh)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Neg)	<i>Iu</i> (to say) (Pos)	<i>Nusumu/Toru</i> (to steal)	<i>Humu</i> (to step on)
Control (N = 7)	2/7 (29%)	1/7 (14%)	2/7 (29%)	1/7 (14%)	0/7 (0%)	0/7 (0%)	1/7 (14%)	2/7 (29%)
Experi- mental (N = 10)	1/10 (10%)	0/10 (0%)	1/10 (10%)	0/10 (0%)	0/10 (0%)	0/10 (0%)	1/10 (10%)	2/10 (20%)

*There was one additional learner in the experimental group who produced a verbal form that may have been intended as the passive in the use of *nusumu/toru*. Given the uncertainty, I have excluded this.

passives with positive meanings in the use of *homeru* and *iu* (positive). One learner in the experimental group and two in the control group used the verb *homerareru* (praise-Pass-non-Past) with incorrect particles. No learners in the control group seem to have attempted to produce the passive with *iu* (positive).

6. Discussion

The results from the two posttests show the faster pace of learning and higher levels of accuracy achieved by the learners in the experimental group. This is reflected particularly in the production of the correct *ni* passives. The better performance of this group in Posttest 1 in particular indicates that the instructional treatment for the experimental group was more effective than that for the control group. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 has been supported. Also, the correct use of *ni* passives with positive meanings was observed only in the learners in the experimental group⁷, and no learners in the control group showed evidence of attempted use of the passive with *iu* (positive). The notion of 'affectivity' can be applied to positive situations as well as negative ones and this may have meant a wider applicability of this notion to a range of situations. This means that Hypothesis 2 has also been supported.

There are a number of factors that seem to have affected learning of *ni* passives. One of these factors is the possession of metalinguistic knowledge of the form and/or the meanings of *ni* passives. Detailed qualitative analysis of the learners' performance indicates that all the learners who displayed such metalinguistic knowledge were observed to show at least some progress in the production of *ni* passives. The contents of this metalinguistic knowledge were of two types. One was the mention of the term 'passive' during the experiment, which indicates that the learners had paid conscious attention to the form they were producing or had produced. More specifically, these learners mentioned the term 'passive' during the picture description, exhibiting an explicit

association between the situation depicted in the picture and the use of the passive form. This seems to have assisted them in making decisions regarding which form to use. The other type of metalinguistic knowledge involved the meanings of *ni* passives such as affective (in the case of the learners in the experimental group) and negative, irritation, unhappiness and victimisation (in the case of the learners in the control group). In fact, the only learners in the control group who showed clear evidence of progress in Posttest 2 were the ones with metalinguistic knowledge of the meanings of *ni* passives. It can therefore be concluded that such explicit knowledge was useful in the production of these forms in the tasks used in the present study. This is not to say that one cannot learn *ni* passives without metalinguistic knowledge, since the present study was not designed to test the roles of implicit and explicit learning or knowledge. However, the metalinguistic comments made by the learners provide a clue to the question of what might have assisted them in making their decisions in utterance production. As the results of the experiments indicate that the notion of 'affectivity' might assist learning, the next question is whether or not this notion can be learned without an explicit grammar explanation. This must be tested in further studies.

Qualitative analysis of the learners' performance also revealed the appearance of passive-like properties in their utterances. Two examples of these forms are the possessor in the possessor passive items and the 'agent-*ga* (Nom)/-*wa* (Top) passive' form.

First, as mentioned earlier when explaining the possessor passive in Example (4), it is necessary to encode the possessor separately from the patient in the production of this type of passive.

The appearance of this separate possessor (with the passive verb) occurred only in the utterances of the learners in the experimental group in Posttest 1. Although one learner in the control group uttered *Suri-ni saihu-o* (pickpocket-by purse-Acc) and asked 'How do you say stolen?' (in which the (separate) possessor 'I' as the topic may have been implicit), this learner subsequently used the active verb *totte simaimasita* (stole regrettably-Past). This indicates the lack of confidence of this learner in the use of passives and a limit of his/her ability. There was another learner in the control group who temporarily produced the separate possessor in the use of *humu* in the passive verbal form in Posttest 2⁸. However, the fact that this only happened in Posttest 2 indicates the slower pace of learning of this learner, compared to the successful learners in the experimental group. The appearance of the separate possessor in the possessor passive items means that the learner attempted to describe the event as what happened to the possessor *watasi* (I) rather than to the patient (e.g., *asi* (foot) in the use of *humu*) and thus can be considered as significant in the process of learning to produce these passives.

Secondly, many learners in both groups used the form with the agent marked with the nominative *ga* or the topical *wa* in combination with the passive verb. This phenomenon was also observed by Tanaka (e.g., 1999), who refers to VanPatten's (1996) first noun strategy (or more recently, the First Noun Principle in VanPatten 2004). What seems to have happened is that the learners first mentioned the agent and marked it with *ga* or *wa* because this is where the action described in the picture originates. In other words, the source of the action attracted their attention. Then the

passive verb was used (at least in some cases) to encode the meanings of affectedness (experimental group) or adversity (control group). Interestingly, this phenomenon was also observed in native speakers as in (11).

- (11) **Sakkii Mike-ga kimi tte kawaii ne tte iwarete mettyakutya uresii yo.*

earlier Mike-**Nom** that you are pretty say-**Pass-Ger** I
am extremely happy.

It is possible that the same cognitive perception of the event was in operation in the learners and these native speakers. Examination of the cognitive states of both native and non-native speakers who produced the 'agent-*ga/-wa* passive' forms is necessary in future studies since this may throw light on the process of learning to produce *ni* passives.

7. Conclusion

The theoretical plausibility of the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching all instances of *ni* passives as affective has been proven empirically. The better performance of the learners in the experimental group was clear, particularly in the production of correct *ni* passives. The progress made by the learners in the control group was limited to fewer learners as well as to fewer test items. However, these conclusions must be drawn with caution due to certain limitations and shortcomings of the present study.

First, the main limitation of this study is the issue of generalis-

ability. Given the small number of the learners who participated in this study, the claims made above must be tested on a larger sample of learners. The same can be said about the verbs tested in the experiments. A larger number of verbs in all types of passives should be tested. It is also necessary to examine if the learners can produce *ni* passives in spontaneous speech in real life situations. Despite these shortcomings, the findings of the present study are promising to those learners who have very limited exposure to the target language and rely heavily on classroom learning as it is the case with most of the learners in the UK.

Abbreviations

Acc: Accusative

Ger: Gerundive

JFL: Japanese as a foreign language

JSL: Japanese as a second language

Nom: Nominative

Pass: Passive

Top: Topic

Notes

- 1 This paper is a modified version of the paper presented at the SOAS, Madrid Spring Workshop, which was held at SOAS, University of London in March 2007. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Yoshida Seiji, the supervisor of my BA dissertation, for introducing theories of linguistics to me. I would also like to thank Professor Michael A. G. Garman, my former colleague at the University of Reading, for kindly reading and commenting on this paper. My thanks also go to Dr Barbara Pizziconi, the supervisor of my currently on-going PhD, Professor

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- 2 The suffix *are* is used when the verb stem ends with a consonant and *rare* when it ends with a vowel.
- 3 The translations are literal so that they may reflect the structures of the original sentences/utterances.
- 4 The gloss and translations are mine in quoted example sentences in Japanese.
- 5 See Shibatani (2000) for a proposed solution to the above-mentioned problems in the analysis of Japanese passives.
- 6 This includes the passivisation of the intransitive verb *naku* (to cry). Dropping this item meant limiting the analysis to direct and possessor passives.
- 7 The use of the passive verb *homerareru* (praise-Pass-non-Past) with incorrect particles was observed in two learners in the control group. This clearly indicates their intention to produce a passive utterance. However, the lack of accuracy in the use of the particles indicates the slower pace of learning by these learners.
- 8 This learner changed possessor-*ni* to patient-*ni*.

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Appendix. Examples of the Pictures Used in the Experiment

4 Y3-4


yesterday

came home at 2 A.M.

↓



you



angry

your father

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
 しかる ... to scold, to tell off
 (group 1)

6 Y3-6

earlier in the park



hurts!

you



you a stranger

Describe this situation to your close friend Ken using
 ふみ ... to step on
 (group 1)